

# Longacre's Ledger

*The Journal of The Flying Eagle and Indian Cent Collectors' Society*

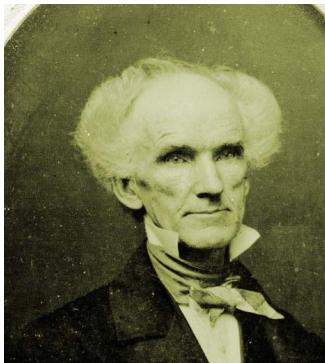
Volume 26.3, Issue #98

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January 2017



*Franklin Peale*  
By Michael Moran



*James Longacre*  
By Michael Moran



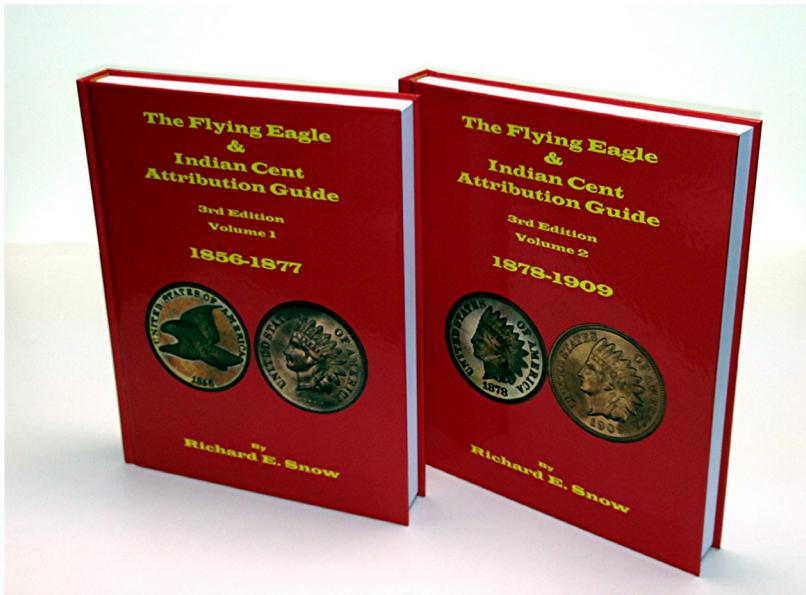
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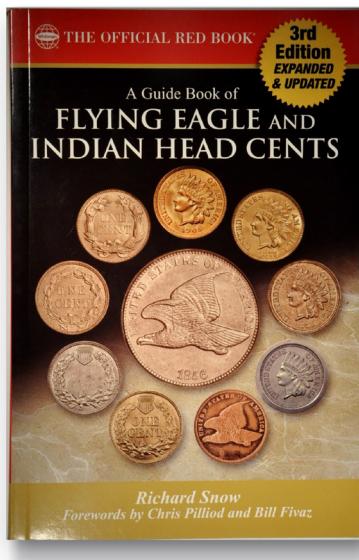
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Our mission is to gather and disseminate information related to James B. Longacre (1794-1869), with emphasis on his work as Chief Engraver of the Mint (1844 -1869) with a primary focus on his Flying Eagle and Indian Cent coinage.

*Founded 1991*

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### On the cover...

The unique 1849 Double Eagle is the most prized item in the Smithsonian Institution's numismatic collection. It was designed by James Longacre.

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# Longacre's Ledger

## 2016 Vol. 26.3 Issue #98

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*By Michael Moran*

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If you have a substantive article you would like to contribute, please follow these guidelines:

- ✓ If you have internet access, you can send text to the editor's e-mail address below. Please send images in separate files.
- ✓ You may also send files and images on a CD-W disk or other storage device to the editor's address below. Storage devices will be returned upon request.
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#102 2018 Vol. 28.1	March 1, 2018	CSNS 2018

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Special thanks to Charmy Harker  
for proofreading the articles.

## *The President's Letter*

By Chris Pilliod

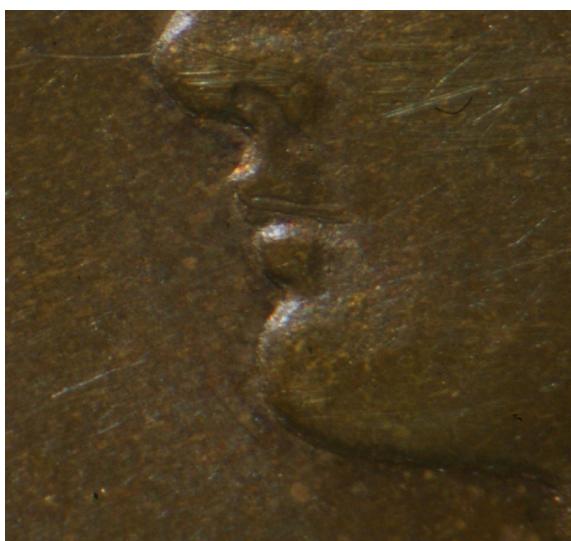
This is my 56th President's letter and when I arrived at work today I was greeted with the news of Chicago Cubs fans celebrating their first World Series win since 1908. Being a Buckeye and having attended college in Cleveland during the city's lean years of the 1970's I was heartbroken over another Game 7 loss. Autumn during my college days would always include a few trips on the RTA "Downtown" Line from campus to catch an Indians game. By September the woeful Indians would be 20 or 30 games out of first, contending for the cellar. I remember one particular game when I scalped a great seat and got the ticket and was so proud I got it under face. Then I walked into Municipal Stadium and there were like 900 fans in a place that held 83,000. The usher walked me to my seat and said "damn kid, you're actually about the only one here that paid for a ticket." No wonder that scalper chased me down when I refused to pay full face value of \$12.00 I thought.

I was alone behind the visitors' dugout the whole game and rather than walk down the aisle, the vendors would just yell down the 20 rows "You need anything???" I had a 10-year-old transistor radio I took to college, and as I rode the RTA back to campus that night I listened in to Joe Tate's game recap. "Tonight was another 'ball night' at the stadium" he announced at some point. "Why didn't I get a ball?" I quietly asked myself. Then Joe continued... "Everyone who attended tonight's game caught a foul ball."

After some amount of time and thoughtful refinement most of us gravitate to a favorite series in numismatics. For many of us it is the Indian Cent and Flying Eagle series. Indeed, most of us further refine our tastes with a favorite year or years in those series. If you're a Cubs fan it may well be 1908, the last year of their World Series, which by the way is also the first year cents were struck outside the Philadelphia Mint.

My favorite years happen to be 1864, 1871 and 1888. 1864 being a Civil War year, coupled with both copper-nickel and bronze issues as well as a host of unusual varieties, die breaks and errors. Perhaps my favorite variety in the entire series is the 1864BR Moustache piece. This is a neat variety with great eye-appeal, very reminiscent of the 1855 Large Cent "Knob Ear" variety-- but only about 500 times rarer. It would be a great piece to add to your collection as someday it will be worth a considerable amount of money.

1871 is a date in Indian Cents that does not harbor many varieties but is a real sleeper and finding choice



1871 Snow-1b "Bar Lip"



1864 No L "Mustache"



1888 Liberty Nickel on a cent planchet

XF and above example is a much tougher task than the price guides would indicate. I like die scratches and die gouges, and 1871 has a neat one right across the lips.

1888 is a great year for varieties and finding sharply struck red-brown UNC's is a true challenge. One of my favorite errors in my collection is a GEM Bu 1888 V-nickel struck on an Indian Cent blank. My theory with these errors is a worker, perhaps a janitor, mistakenly threw a mislaid cent blank into the nickel planchets tub.

But if there is one date that might be the most unexpected of all to collect it could well be exactly 200 years ago, the year 1816. Although well before the times of Longacre, this year represents a most intriguing time in our nation's annals. Numismatically, it would be mighty easy to complete this date set; only one denomination was struck, Large Cents. And at a mintage of 2.8 million more than quite a few were struck. A recent low grade piece recently hammered for a whopping \$6.19 on eBay. Imagine, completing an entire date set from 200 years ago of US coins for less than ten bucks! For cryin' out loud you can't even complete a 1964 date set for that price.

But 1816 is more transcendent in its intrigue historically than numismatically. It was the year that in many ways changed the future of our nation. The Midwest and West were sparsely settled in 1816, so most of the population lived east of the Appalachians. In the Northeast, farmers planted and harvested their own crops for food, either for them or for their livestock, or for sale or bartering. These demographics would change dramatically after 1816.

Why? Because in the United States and Europe 1816 was the year with no summer.

Most Americans literally experienced no summer that year. The snows from a cold winter had melted as temperatures in March and early April warmed as usual, but by May the temperatures quit rising and in fact began to turn cold again. Not just cold, but bitterly cold. In fact, most parts of the Eastern seaboard recorded sub-freezing temperatures each and every day throughout the entire month of May.

By June most residents on the East Coast realized something unprecedented was occurring. A post from the Philadelphia area noted:

*"On the 5th of June we had quite warm weather, but in the afternoon copious showers attended with lightning and thunder -- then followed high dark skies and cold winds from the northwest, and back again the cold unwelcome visitor.*

*On the night of June 6th Jack Frost paid another visit to this region of the country, and nipped the beans, cucumbers, and other tender plants. This surely is cold weather for summer.*

*On the 6th, 7th, and 8th June, fires were quite agreeable company in our habitations."*

*A Vermont farmer added, "The most gloomy and extraordinary weather ever seen."*

Even in Cape May, New Jersey, an area blessed with warm ocean breezes in the summer, experienced frost in late June and early July. Further north in Albany, NY nearly a foot of snow was recorded that June. Birds arriving north after their summer migrations were observed dropping dead in streets from the cold.



1816 Large Cent

A bitter June gave way to a cold July. Lake and river ice was noted in Michigan, Ohio and northwestern Pennsylvania in July and August. Near Philadelphia, where quoiting is a popular summer pastime, men were observed playing in their winter overcoats on July afternoons. Frost was reported as far south as Virginia on August 20 and 21.

Keeping a diary was a popular pastime in these times. The summer of 1816 could be best summarized by a young Massachusetts girl's two-word entry that summer... "weather backwards."

The weather was not in itself a hardship for those accustomed to long winters. The real problem lay in its effect on crops and thus the supply of food and firewood. On September 13, a Virginia newspaper reported that corn crops would be one half to two-thirds short, and lamented that "the cold as well as the drought has nipped the buds of hope." That autumn across the East Coast many farmers didn't even bother to bring in their harvests as their crops were so withered. People were observed eating raccoons and pigeons for basic sustenance.

The weather pattern had actually started to slightly deteriorate the year before in 1815; but not to nearly to the extremes of 1816. General warming began in 1817 but the year was again colder than normal. Only in 1818 did the weather pattern begin to normalize.

On the numismatic end during this cold spell, probably the fewest total coins minted in any period would be struck. Total mintages of all denominations during the years 1815 through 1817 is the lowest three-year aggregate in Mint history. So naturally the

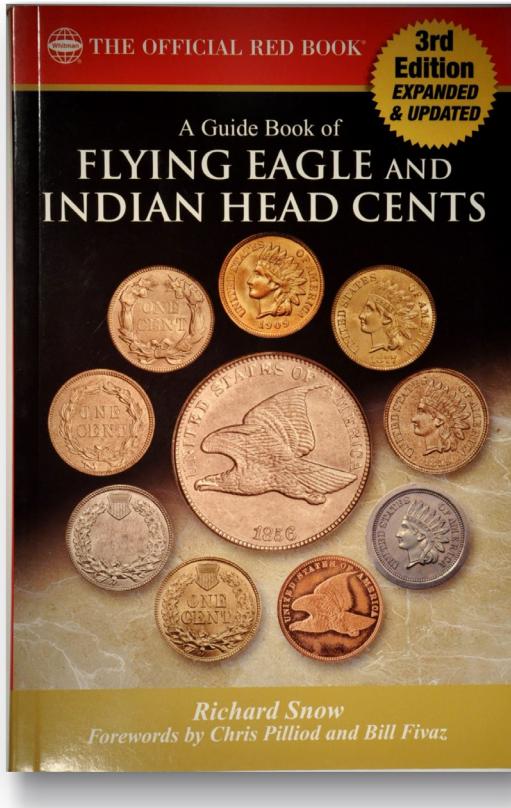
question becomes "Could the weather have played a role in the low mintages in 1815 through 1817?" It's a question we would never think of asking today but the answer in 1816 is probably yes. The economy during this period was primarily subsistence agricultural... people growing crops to feed their families and bartering or selling the balance for family clothing, tools, and other necessities. Close to 80% of the nations' population lived in the Northeast, the area hit the heaviest by the bitterly cold spring and summer. The cold and dark caused widespread crop failures and severe famine across the Northern Hemisphere and as Americans watched their crops wither away, and often never even sprouting, they not only had no harvest to sell, but barely enough to keep themselves alive.

This had a heavy toll on the nation's economy and subsequently coinage demand was low, just as it was in the years 1930 to 1934 at the height of the Great Depression. The price of wheat doubled from 1815 to 1817, and oats saw an even larger increase in price from 12c per bushel to 92c per bushel during this time period. This stressed the economy to unknown limits. Hundreds, perhaps thousands died from the combined effects of typhus, exposure, and starvation. To escape any future hardships, the first real wave of migration began in America.

So what caused this phenomenon??? It would take over a century for scientists to determine the cause of the dramatic weather of 1816. On April 10, 1815 on the other side of the world, the biggest volcanic eruption in human history spewed millions of tons of dust, ash and sulfur dioxide into the atmosphere. The eruption of Mount Tambora in Indonesia was 100 times more powerful than Mount St. Helens in 1980, according to the U.S. Geological Survey, the most powerful blast in the last 1500 years.

The volcano spewed out enough ash and pumice to cover a square area 100 miles on each side to a depth of almost 12 feet, by far the deadliest volcanic eruption. The eruption spewed sulfur dioxide high into the stratosphere, more than 10 miles above Earth's surface. When sulfur dioxide reacts with water vapor it forms sulfate aerosols that float above the altitude of rain. Here they linger, reflecting sunlight and cooling the Earth's surface, which is what caused the weather and climate impacts of Tambora's eruption to occur more than a year later in America and Europe.

*Just Released*  
***A Guide Book of Flying Eagle and Indian Head Cent***  
*By Richard Snow*



This is the newly revised 3rd. Edition of the sixth installment of the Bower's series of books. This edition is updated from the 2009 version with clearer images, updated pricing and expanded information.

Probably the most important change is the movement of the 1859 Shield reverse cent from the Pattern section to a regular issue with its own listing.

Also important is the addition of the 100 top Flying Eagle and Indian Cent varieties. These are all listed with full color images and cross-referenced to the Cherrypicker's Guide and the PCGS numbering system. This should prove to be a big boon to variety collecting.

Another fascinating contribution is Charmy Harker's chapter about Flying Eagle and Indian cent exonumia which features photographs of her extensive collection.

Numismatic history was made with this book

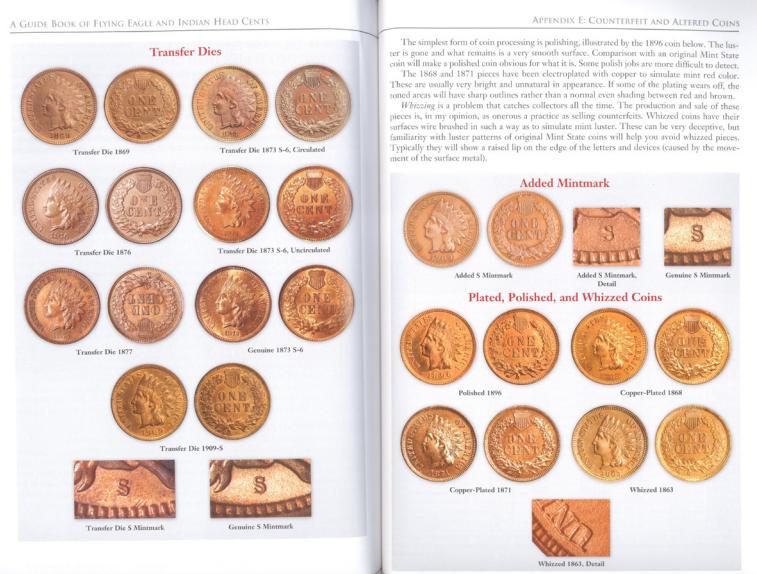
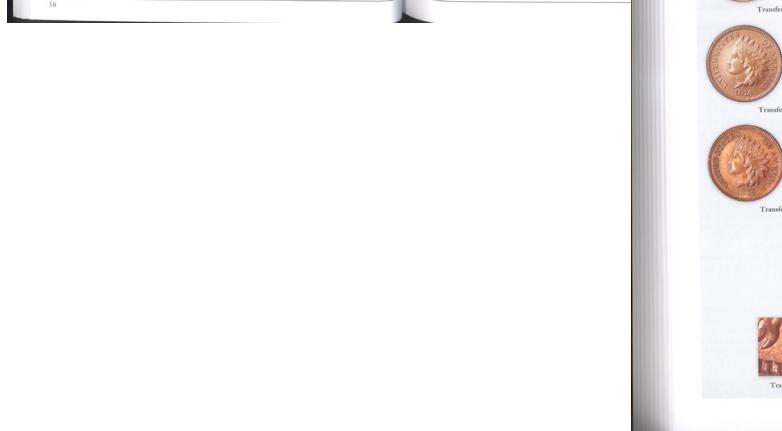
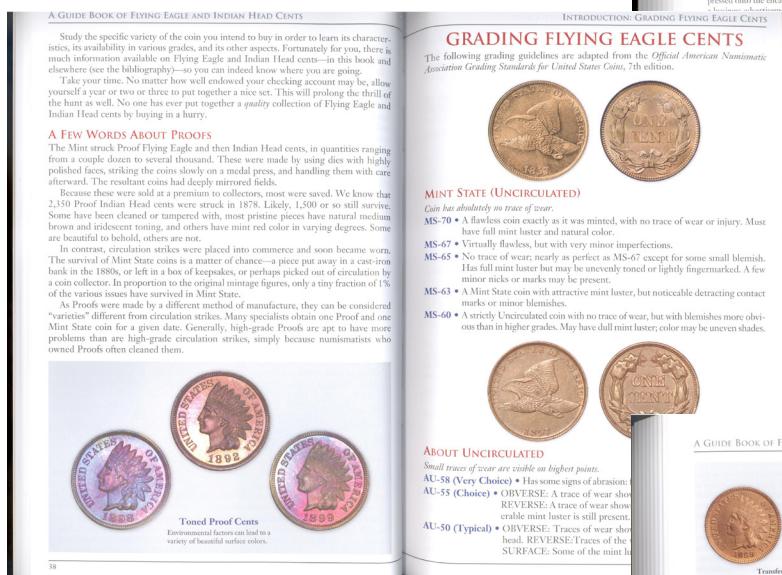
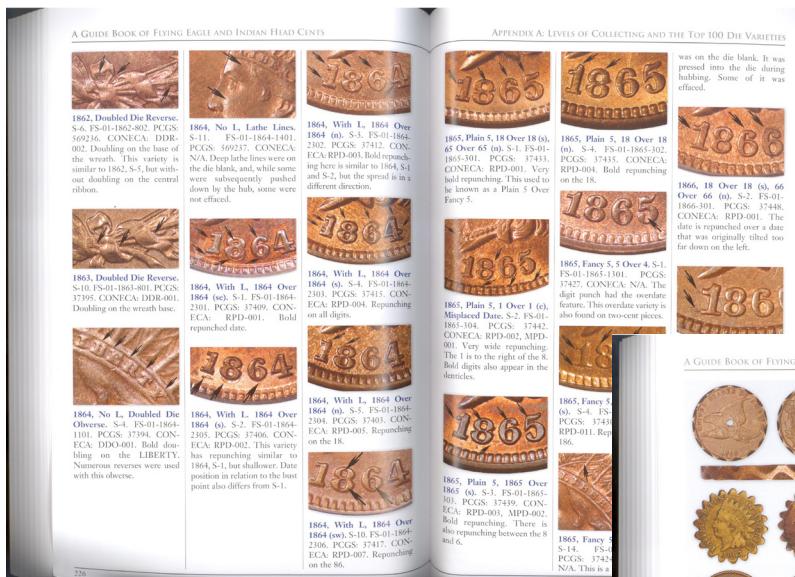
as the first publicized information regarding the PDS Grading system. A detailed chapter is given to this subject. While still in its infancy as far as public knowledge, it will certainly be well-known in the years to come. The 70-point Sheldon system of grading took 20 years to become well-known in the hobby.

There are sections on counterfeits, Proofs, Patterns and a detailed history of the life of James Longacre.

The book is available from your favorite book-sellers and [www.whitman.com](http://www.whitman.com)

Also available from the author at [www.indiancent.com](http://www.indiancent.com) - autographed on request.

## Selected page shots from "Snow - 3rd Edition."



**Peale and Longacre**  
**By Michael Moran**

*This article is condensed from the remarkable new book by Michael Moran and Jeff Garrett, “1849: The Mint Strikes Gold.” The book details intricacies of the Mint’s operations, employees and the politics surrounding them from 1794 to 1854. The fascinating story of the people that ran the Mint comes to life in this superbly written book. This article is just one the stories.*

**Part 1: Franklin Peale**

Franklin Peale was born October 15, 1795, on the second floor of the American Philosophical Society hall into a unique American family. Charles Willson Peale, his father, had been a militia captain in Philadelphia during the American Revolution. He fought under George Washington at Princeton and wintered at Valley Forge. When the British left Pennsylvania, Charles Willson Peale entered politics as a radical Republican. His political beliefs did not conflict with his buying one of the nicer confiscated Tory homes readily available after the British retreat, giving him prominent visibility in Philadelphia society.

However, revolutionary politics were not Charles Willson Peale’s calling. Before the American Revolution, he had studied painting in England and returned to the colonies as an accomplished portraitist. Like other English and American painters of his time, he maintained a small gallery where he presented mostly his own works, attracting visitors and enhancing his reputation. He built a large addition to his gallery in 1782 and began filling it with portraits of the American participants in the Revolution. In many cases, those images would define the faces of these men for later generations of Americans.

In spite of his painting success, Charles Willson Peale’s finances were tight, pushing him to seek new ventures. The one he settled upon was a natural history museum, which opened in June 1784. His friend and fellow liberal politician, David Rittenhouse, advised against it on the grounds that, while the idea was good, it would force Peale to neglect his art. On the other hand, Robert Patterson liked the plan, hoping it would become a great national institution.

Home life for the Peale family was unique. Just keeping up with the family members was a chore. Peale fathered 17 children by two wives. Many of them were named after Renaissance painters. Franklin was the third of six children by his second wife. By this time, Charles Willson Peale had moved his family into an apartment above his exhibits, which explains why the birth occurred in the APS Hall. However, Franklin was not named Franklin at his birth. In keeping with his penchant for unusual names, Peale named the boy Aldrovand after Ulisse Aldrovandi, an Italian naturalist and collector from the 16th century. This time, the father had gone too far and four months later he asked the American Philosophical Society to come up with a name for the first child born in their hall. Thus, the boy became Benjamin Franklin Peale.

Franklin Peale spent his childhood in a home devoid of discipline. His father objected to the use of the rod. The children had an unstructured education but benefited from exposure to whatever pursuit or endeavor their father was involved in at the museum. In that vein, they all learned more or less to paint, spoke



**Franklin Peale, 1849**  
**By Rembrant Peale**

French, read prolifically, wrote verses, and sang. They attended school but never in any regular fashion. Franklin’s formal education ended before he was 17, and consisted of a few years at a Bucks County school after his father bought a farm and moved to the countryside, a short stint at the University of Pennsylvania, and another brief stay at the Germantown Academy. His domestic life was marred by the death of his mother during childbirth in 1804. Adding to this trauma was the fact that his father promptly married for a third time, although there would be no more siblings. In this environment, Franklin grew up doing largely as he pleased without the discipline that comes with accountability. When it came time for Franklin to choose a profession, his interests gravitated toward manufacturing – the machinist trade in particular. Franklin was moving in a different direction from the artistic or scientific careers of his brothers and half brothers. Charles Willson Peale considered this desire a foolish whim. In late 1812 or early 1813, he placed Franklin with William Young, the prominent owner of a cotton factory near Wilmington, Delaware, with the understanding that Young was to lead the boy away from this endeavor. Connected with the factory was a machine shop for making carding and spinning machinery, run by

the Hodgson brothers. Franklin was soon drawn to their shop and within a year his work excelled over that of the Hodgsons.

Young Peale was not content merely to learn the trade. He made drawings of the cotton spinning machinery that converted the cotton fiber into yarn within the factory. After a year's apprenticeship, he returned home and, with his father's financing, executed patterns for castings that could be used to make his own machinery. His dream was to open a cotton mill with advanced mechanical innovations.

Franklin had another surprise for his father. He had met a lady, Eliza Greatrake, whom he intended to marry in two or three years. Upon questioning, the elder Peale learned that Franklin knew little of the woman's background. In what must have come as a surprise to Franklin, his father did not take a permissive tone and pointed out that it would be necessary for the boy to be able to support a family financially before marrying.

Meanwhile, Franklin took a position with a Philadelphia firm operated by the husband of one of his half-sisters. This company made machines for bending and cutting wire into card teeth. Franklin soon distinguished himself on the foot lathe with hand tools. There were none better than he and few his equal. Clearly, he had an aptitude for machinery.

Not long after Franklin's initial discussion with his father about marriage, Eliza came to Philadelphia. She did not make a good first impression. One of Franklin's half sisters, upon meeting her, said she acted strangely and pronounced her crazy. The elder Peale noticed that she tossed her head from side to side at his first meeting with her. Franklin then asked his father to visit Eliza's mother, who was in town sick and confined to her room. Peale did so expecting to be asked to render some aid. Mrs. Greatrake on the other hand expected Peale to seek her permission for Franklin to marry Eliza. That did not happen.

At this point, Eliza was 26 years old and desperate to avoid spinsterhood. Franklin was 18 and uninitiated. Within a week of Charles Willson Peale's meeting the mother, the couple married without his consent. Nevertheless, Peale set them up in a house next to the family garden. Eliza made a mess of domestic work and soon dropped all pretense of maintaining the home. Three years later when they had a daughter, Anna, Eliza slipped over the edge. It was the end of their marriage. Eliza returned to her mother, who promptly committed her to an institution.

Ultimately, the Peale family had to pay for Eliza's incarceration. A marriage annulment was granted in 1821. Charles Willson Peale then employed Franklin at the family museum for just enough salary to maintain him and his daughter. Gone were the dreams of a cotton mill.

Franklin Peale would have to pick up the pieces from his mistake and start over. Franklin made the most of his position as a "manager" of Peale's Museum. His name gave him entry into Philadelphia society. Gradually he pulled himself out of the ditch. After his father's death in 1827, he and his brother, Titian, took over management of the museum. In 1831 Franklin also began lecturing on machines at the Franklin Institute; he had been involved at its founding in 1824.

When Samuel Moore, with Robert Maskell Patterson's approval, tapped Franklin Peale to be assistant assayer at the Mint, it was an opportunity for Peale to escape a growing problem. His father had failed, in spite of repeated efforts, to secure a national charter for the museum. Jefferson while president had not thought

it a proper function of government. State and local support was intermittent and the museum was going through a long, slow decline, which began after Charles 'Willson Peale's death. Competition had sprung up in other cities for exhibits, specimens, and visitors. For Franklin, the Mint position was a new challenge with the added potential of immersing him in his first love: machinery.

On May 8, 1833, Franklin Peale set out on the greatest adventure of his life. He would have a completely free hand to investigate the latest technology in use at European mints. He left his 17-year-old daughter in the care of the family of Thomas Sully, his friend and a noted Philadelphia artist. Franklin, in a parting letter, admonished Anna to study her arts in his absence and consult with Sully freely, giving the utmost deference to Sully's experience and judgment.

With his knowledge of the French language, Paris was both his destination and his base of operations. While Peale would investigate all minting processes, his focus was on refining. He carried a letter of introduction to Robert Mushet of the British Royal Mint to study the use of sulfuric acid in the refining process, with the intent of introducing it to the Philadelphia Mint. However, when in London the following November, Franklin waxed eloquent in a letter to his daughter about superintending the making and transporting of an apparatus required for assaying using the new process, *voci humide*. He was silent about methods of refining with sulfuric acid.

On New Year's Day 1834, Peale wrote Director Moore with the news that he was out of money. He wanted to go to Rouen to study the process used there with sulfuric acid to separate silver from gold. However, the French were going to require a fee to allow him access to their knowledge. Moore took Peale's request in stride, asking for the congressional appropriation to purchase rights to the French refining process that was subsequently denied.

Peale stayed through 1834 and well into 1835. He observed the latest coin presses in use in mints in France and Germany. They were significantly more advanced than the screw presses at Philadelphia. Finally, in the spring of 1835, Peale returned to America. It coincided perfectly with the appointment of Robert Maskell Patterson as the new Mint director.

Franklin Peale brought back more than just advanced knowledge of coining from Europe. At least as early as 1832, Franklin had involved himself in the design process of medals, seeking one for the family museum. Now he brought back knowledge of the latest engraving technology from the Paris Mint, where he had seen a portrait lathe in operation. Up to this point, an engraver in the United States prepared his design in a plastic material such as wax or clay. Then, he was forced to dig out of solid metal a reproduction of his design for the master die, taking impressions in soft metal as he progressed. This required long periods of time to complete.

In Paris a cast could be taken from the artist's model or it could be electrotyped in copper. From this mold, a copy could be cast in hard metal, bronze, or iron, and retouched at will by the artist. This copy could be placed in the portrait lathe to generate an exact reduction in steel of the major design devices for the master die. Subsequently, minor design devices and inscriptions could be added by hand. This portrait lathe, specifically a *Tour à Portrait de Contamin*, was a machine capable of artistic output, the kind of mechanical improvement that most intrigued Franklin Peale.

Franklin Peale was now ready to take on his new position at the Mint as Melter and Refiner, replacing Joseph Cloud, a 40-year veteran of the Mint. President Jackson nominated Peale on December 21, 1835 and was quickly approved by the Senate. He took the oath of office on January 11, 1836.

Adam Eckfeldt was now 70 years old and had been a fixture at the Mint since its beginning; it was in his blood. Still, the stresses of being chief coiner were wearing on him. He had talked to Mint director Robert Patterson before about resigning but had not fixed a date. This time, it was different. When he told Patterson he intended to resign, he meant it. Eckfeldt did not need the money; he had gotten rich beyond his expectations, in part from his lucrative side business in medals. In fact, he would be ranked among a who's who of wealthy Philadelphians in the 1840s.

For Robert Maskell Patterson, Eckfeldt's resignation was an opportunity - but one that had to be managed carefully. The spoils system ushered in by President Andrew Jackson had been perpetuated to a much fuller extent under Martin Van Buren. While politics at the Mint had hitherto been largely restricted to the appointment of the treasurer, there was no assurance that its grip would not be extended to the skilled positions. For Patterson, it was a matter of timing. Franklin Peale was his choice, but Peale was once again in Georgia attending to problems at the Dahlonega branch mint. The resignation must not become public until Peale returned and was in position to take over Eckfeldt's responsibilities. If the resignation became public before that time, the agitations of the politicians might upset Patterson's plans.

Patterson was successful in his efforts to manage the transition. On March 11, 1839, he notified President Van Buren of Eckfeldt's resignation. He wasted no time in promoting Peale to Van Buren for the position.

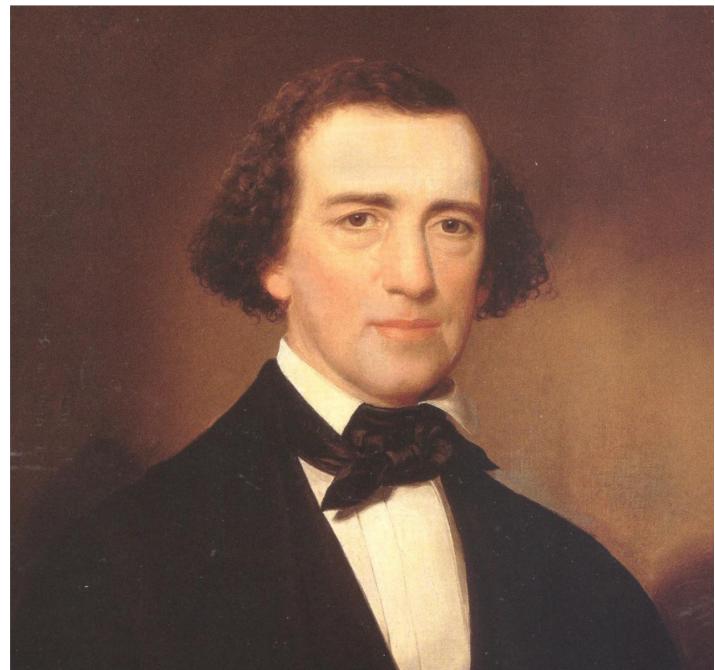
If Patterson was successful in transferring Peale to the chief coiner's position, that left the Melter and Refiner position open. In the same letter lauding Peale's accomplishments to Van Buren, the Mint director also recommended Philadelphian James C. Booth for the empty position. Treasury secretary Levi Woodbury immediately conveyed to Patterson the president's desire that Democrats be considered for the two positions.

Patterson remained confident of Peale's appointment. In a confidential communication to Woodbury, he made his case that the persons appointed should have the essential requisites of skill and science combined with personal character that would command confidence. Patterson reemphasized that he was proposing a transfer of Peale, not a promotion.

Professor Booth was another story. Politically, he was neutral and brought no bias to the table. This appointment must be made on the basis of scientific knowledge and personal character alone. Patterson knew this nomination was on shaky ground and suggested several alternatives.

Van Buren was closing no doors on his options. Henry Gilpin, solicitor for the Treasury Department, wrote Patterson that the president had had an interview at the White House with an accomplished, well-recommended machinist for Eckfeldt's position. That was enough to make Patterson go to Washington to consult with Van Buren directly. That trip resolved the situation for Peale but not Booth. Even as an apolitical Whig, he was doomed.

On May 1, 1839, in his new position as chief operating officer at the Mint, Franklin Peale announced his marriage to Caroline Eugenie Girard Haslam, a widow. It had been 18 years



*Robert M. Patterson, 1855*

*By Samuel F. Dubois*

since the annulment of his first marriage to Eliza Greatrake. This one promised to be on much better footing.

On June 7, 1839, Patterson informed Adam Eckfeldt that, in appreciation of his long and meritorious service to the Mint, he would receive a medal. Odds are that Eckfeldt supervised its striking. From the effective date of his resignation, the former chief coiner had continued to come to the Mint as if nothing had changed. Eckfeldt was doing the work he loved without the stress of responsibility. That he received no pay was not a concern. Peale thereby gained an assistant, allowing him to avoid the drudgery of a daily routine and make the social rounds with his new wife. It was a partnership that would continue until Eckfeldt's death.

One area seemed to cause Patterson nothing but difficulties – the Mint's engraving department. William Kneass' medical problems and his inability to perform many of the engraver's functions are well documented. Christian Gobrecht seemed to gradually drop from the equation after the completion of the half dollar designs for 1839. He was nearing his 54th birthday. Health should not have been an issue; yet it might have been. His absences from the Mint were not yet noticeable, but they would become so later. Otherwise, there is only conjecture.

William Kneass died on August 27, 1840, just shy of his 59th birthday. In keeping with Mint tradition, Patterson had allowed Kneass to stay "on the job" until the bitter end, without regard to his ability to perform. Christian Gobrecht was elevated from assistant to Chief Engraver.

During these first years of the 1840s, a changing of the guard occurred with regard to striking medals. Moritz Fürst died in 1840, effectively removing his partner, Adam Eckfeldt, from the equation. With Gobrecht increasingly ailing, it left a clear field for someone to take over this lucrative side business. Franklin Peale gladly stepped into the role.

Peale was barely in office before he was executing medals for the Franklin Institute. By 1843, Peale was pushing the medals

business to the brink. The event that triggered the problem was the request from the Institute, the Smithsonian forerunner, for a set of American medals struck to date. When Peale's estimate of cost did come, The Institute balked at the cost.

Patterson's reply was the first official response to the outside activities of the chief coiners at the Philadelphia Mint.

*"Permit me to observe that the business of making dies for medals and of striking medals is nowhere prescribed by law as a function of the Mint, or a duty of any of its officers. It is true that a part of the work was done at the Mint, and by one of its officers, the Chief Coiner; but the work was always looked upon as extra-official, and he was remunerated for it accordingly."*

Attached to Patterson's file copy of this letter were notes clearly in Franklin Peale's handwriting.

*"The striking of medals has always been confided to the Chief Coiner of the Mint but considered and paid for as a private matter. The engraving of dies for medals has never been considered an official duty of the Engraver of the Mint."*

Patterson knew better than to quote directly from what Peale had supplied. It was clearly self-serving. Peale's description of the duties of the chief coiner in regard to medals can only be described as manipulative. It also sought to cut the engraver out of the process entirely.

The project to strike Indian Peace medals depicting Washington and Adams was now dead. But the issue of Peale's profiting privately through government medals was now known by some outside the Mint. For the most part, the issue of using Mint equipment for private medals remained a dirty little secret, yet to be exposed to outside scrutiny.

On July 26, 1844, the funeral of Christian Gobrecht was held at 4 p.m. at his home on Walnut Street. In accordance with his wishes, the officers and all people connected with the Mint attended. The engraver was 58. Barely two weeks later, Peale took on Gobrecht's private medal work for the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. Now all medal work was consolidated under the chief coiner.

Robert Maskell Patterson felt little pressure to replace his deceased engraver, Christian Gobrecht. With Franklin Peale's support, the Mint director had downgraded the position in practice if not in fact. He had terminated the outside services of Robert Ball Hughes the year before. When the issue of gold dollars cropped up in Congress the preceding January, Patterson had had Peale strike additional dollars from Gobrecht's old design of 1836 for the review of the House Ways and Means Committee. He had even pulled out a warmed-over version of his 1836 objections to the coin for Treasury secretary John C. Spencer's benefit. When Patterson wished to reinforce his objections to the coin by adding fears of counterfeiting, he again turned to Peale. He had the chief coiner produce an electrotype silver gilt dollar coin for the committee's review. In Patterson's mind, there was little need for an engraver other than for mechanical day-to-day chores. Even these, Peale's men did on a regular basis.

Recommendations and applications for the job came quickly. Thomas Sully recommended Thomas Welch, a skilled engraver and an excellent draftsman. Welch had assured Sully that he was

well acquainted with the business of diesinking. In former years, Welch had studied under James Longacre and had prepared an engraving of James Madison for inclusion in Longacre's book of famous Americans. Still Patterson took no initiative in filling this position. He made no contact with Charles Cushing Wright, who had earned his earlier praise. For a man who had proactively sought well-qualified men to fill vacancies within the Mint officers, Patterson's actions seemed out of character. That is, unless Patterson was only looking for a proxy who would stand by while Peale continued his push to mechanize the function.

## Part 2: James Longacre

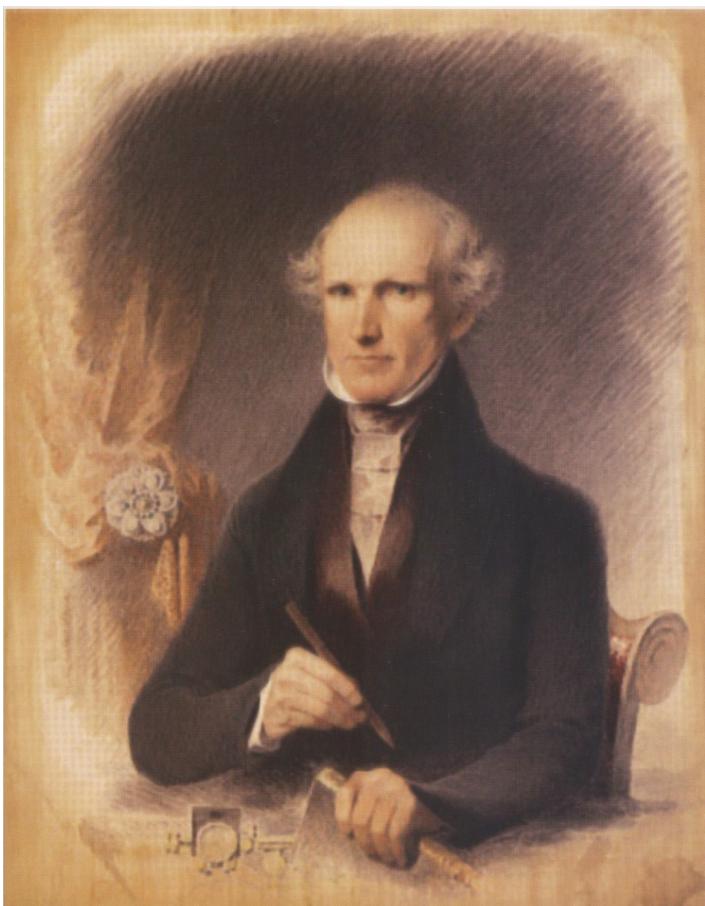
James Barton Longacre did not know what he was getting into. He had initially not even considered the appointment of engraver. However, Robert Bald, a Philadelphia banknote engraver and friend, had pressed him to consider it. Longacre had married in 1826 and now had five children; the youngest was four years old. His life's work, the *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*, had been a victim of the depression. His partner in the venture had dropped out in 1839, and Longacre had struggled to complete the work to meet his existing subscription commitments. A devoutly religious man, Longacre recognized that the \$2,000 annual salary would allow him to comfortably provide for his family. Still he hesitated. He had no political connections other than John Calhoun. Bald argued that Longacre's standing within the country as an artist gave him a superior claim. Besides, Bald correctly pointed out that John Calhoun had more influence within the Tyler administration than any one else.

Longacre took the plunge, speaking directly with Calhoun. The secretary of state told him point-blank that politics would not be considered in gaining his recommendation. Calhoun would only be swayed by the highest qualifications. While the appointment of the engraver was within the confines of the Treasury Department, Calhoun would take pleasure in laying Longacre's testimonials before the secretary of the Treasury.

It was enough. Longacre accepted the engraver's position under an interim appointment. President Tyler officially presented his name to the Senate for confirmation on December 18, 1844. For Patterson, it was a dual disappointment. The president had appointed Longacre before he had presented his own recommendation. In addition, Longacre was a recognized engraver and artist, putting in jeopardy Patterson's efforts, in conjunction with Franklin Peale, to downgrade the position. However, one factor would work in Patterson and Peale's favor: Longacre was not a diesinker. With his knowledge of the engraving process, Peale would still hold a trump card.

James Longacre settled into his engraving position. It was a rocky start. As soon as he arrived at the Mint, Patterson asked him to resign his elected position on the council of Spring Garden, a separately chartered entity within Philadelphia. The Mint director considered it inappropriate for Longacre to hold this office at the same time he was an officer of the Mint. While Longacre complied, it irked him. Patterson seemed brusque and unfriendly.

There were other signs that indicated to Longacre that some considered his position inferior to others at the Mint. Patterson told him that standard operating procedure when Longacre needed assistance was to call on the coining-department foreman. Yet



**James B. Longacre, 1845**  
**Self Portrait**

this man was subject to the dictates of his boss, Franklin Peale. As a result, Longacre occasionally had trouble finding qualified men who were available to work for him. When the workers were available, the screw press used for making hubs and working dies was often in use by Peale for making his medals, further impeding Longacre. Even Longacre's workplace was substandard. His single-room office had a northern exposure and an overhanging piazza that blocked direct sunlight. At times, his light was further restricted by chimney smoke coming from the refinery on one side and the steam-engine boiler fire on the other.

Longacre had to know that Franklin Peale looked upon his position with disdain. Peale made no secret of the fact that he considered the engraver's job a sinecure. Over time, Longacre grew defensive and began finding fault with Peale. While Peale considered the engraver's daily work menial, Longacre observed that the chief coiner had to go to an outside engraver to place the inscriptions upon his medals. The Contamin reducing lathe was also under Peale's control. Longacre knew that Peale's skills were better than his on this machine. However, Peale no longer operated this lathe, using instead one of his subordinates to do the work.

Some of Longacre's animosity also centered on the profitability of Peale's lucrative medals business. Longacre was the only professional artist and engraver among the Mint officers. Yet all the government work for medals and their profits went to the chief coiner. Longacre would eventually attempt to enter this business as well with the aid of C.C. Wright.

He would not make waves, just meet the daily requirements of his job. However, his feelings simmered below the surface, with his frustrations centered upon Franklin Peale.

Longacre had been on the job officially for almost six months when the opportunity presented itself to Patterson to replace him. Allen Leonard, a Philadelphia silversmith and diesinker, had talked to Treasury secretary Walker and President Polk. They, in turn, had kicked the issue down to the Mint director. Patterson interviewed Leonard, who brought an example of the work upon which he had built his reputation: a medal displaying the head of John Adams. Patterson told Leonard that he did not consider that single medal satisfactory evidence of the man's ability to place American coins on an equal footing with those of Europe. He would not support Leonard's application to be engraver. In response, Leonard volunteered to prepare a die in coin relief.

Here the matter sat until Walker pressed Patterson for an update in the middle of August 1845. Patterson provided an honest assessment of Longacre's abilities. The man was a highly regarded gentleman in the community; an important attribute in Patterson's eyes. He had some reputation as an engraver in copper. However, he was not a diesinker. To Patterson's knowledge Longacre had made no attempt at this art. The routine of the Mint at this point did not require it. So long as there were no changes in the present coin designs, the sinking of dies for the Mint was a mechanical operation and the office of the engraver was little more than a sinecure.

Patterson frankly admitted to the secretary that he was not content with U.S. coins as works of art. If he knew of an individual with the talent and skill to bring forth new designs for the circulating coins, Patterson would not hesitate to recommend him for appointment to the engraver's position. However, Patterson did not think such a person existed in the United States.

Leonard delivered his coin-relief die to Patterson on September 22. He made excuses that the press of business had prevented him from doing his best. Given the necessary time, Leonard was confident that he could cut a die infinitely better. Patterson immediately had a splash impression in a fusible alloy made. That could only mean one thing: Franklin Peale was in the picture. The two men and Peale met the next day in what must have been a disappointment for Leonard. Patterson was not pleased with the design; he did not consider it an original work. Even though it was not intended, the design bore a strong resemblance to a likeness of Louis Philippe from a French five-franc piece. However, the Mint director did feel the diesinking was creditable enough.

In reporting the results to Walker, Patterson made the point that there were others more qualified than Leonard if Longacre were to be replaced. He brought up Thomas Welch, who had the blessing of Sully, close friend of the Peale brothers. In fact, Patterson had gone a step further. Welch was now working on a trial of his own. Patterson wished to wait until Welch had completed his effort before making a decision on Longacre. Patterson was prepared to do what had not been done at the Mint since its establishment: fire the engraver.

In spite of the rough interview, Leonard refused to give up. Two months later he sent a die and two impressions one each for Patterson and Peale, of an image of a noted professor in Philadelphia. He also addressed Patterson's complaints from the first meeting, attempting to turn the negative into a positive. French engraver Joseph-Francois Domard had designed the five-franc

piece that was in question, and Leonard unabashedly stated that his quick grasp of the masterly style of Domard was a point in his favor. Leonard also addressed Patterson's objection to the design, falling back upon his reputation as a competent designer for the preceding 17 years in Boston and Philadelphia. He pledged to the Mint director that, if appointed he would become a master at design. Leonard was confident that he could produce a coin as good as any in Europe.

Getting no response from Patterson, Leonard went around the Mint director to Treasury secretary Walker, cooking his goose the process. Leonard sent Walker a much improved second impression of the image of Louis Philippe. An irked Patterson pointed out that Leonard's work was nothing more than a copy, although he acknowledged it displayed mechanical skill in diesinking. However, its merits as a work of art drew from the excellent of Domard's original design. The skills shown by Leonard were not what they wanted at the Mint.

Now Patterson expressed a complete turnaround in his assessment of Longacre.

*"The present incumbent in the office of Engraver of the Mint - Mr. Longacre - has shown, as I think, more taste and judgment in making devices for an improved coinage here than have been exhibited by any of his predecessors."*

Surely Longacre had gotten wind that his position was in jeopardy. However, the engraver quickly ceased his effort. Later he would only state that the conflicting views of those who had asked, if not demanded, to be heard - meaning Peale and Patterson - were so widely varying as to discourage him from pursuing new designs. However, Longacre had bought some time. It was enough; by now the United States was embroiled in a war with Mexico over Texas.

### Part 3: The \$1.00 Gold Coin

James McKay was the ranking Democrat and former chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House. He had been the favorite son of the North Carolina delegates to the 1848 Democratic convention, but he came in a distant fifth in the balloting for the vice-presidential nomination. He had not stood for reelection to the House that fall. With the adjournment of the Thirtieth Congress, his 18-year career as a representative would come to an end. McKay had one last objective. He meant to see Congress authorize the striking of a \$1 gold coin.

McKay knew that the coins would circulate. After the fire at the Charlotte Mint, much of the gold region's bullion was diverted to Bechtler's private mint in Rutherfordton. Here, August Bechtler, having taken over for Christopher, converted a substantial portion of the Carolina gold into \$1 gold coins that moved freely into regional commerce. McKay had an ally in the effort, Senator Stephen Douglas. When Douglas was in the House with McKay, he introduced motions in the Twenty-Eighth and Twenty-Ninth Congresses to instruct the Ways and Means Committee to report on the issue.

Earlier, in 1844, Patterson had appeared cooperative enough when he sent nine specimens, restrikes from Gobrecht's 1836 dies to Congress. He suggested the design be changed to incorporate a head of Liberty on the obverse and that the legislation not



**\$1.00 Gold coin, 1849**

**No L / Open Wreath (top) With L / Closed Wreath (bottom)**  
**James B. Longacre**

require an eagle on the reverse. In March 1844, McKay was able to report out a bill authorizing a \$1 gold piece incorporating Patterson's reverse recommendation with a standard weight of 25.8 grains. However, Patterson had aggressively sought and obtained the support of the Whig administration to kill the bill.

In 1846 McKay in the Ways and Means Committee had discussed the possibility of a \$20 gold piece. Patterson was equally negative regarding this concept. He believed the coin wholly unnecessary. He pushed his creditability stating that no other country in the world had had success with a larger-denomination gold coin. In fact the Spanish colonies in South America had minted an 8-escudo piece or doubloon with a value of about \$16 for a number of years. Patterson went on to state that these pieces, if coined, would not find their way into circulation. In the face of that opposition, McKay did not even attempt to report out a bill.

The discovery of gold in California changed everything. McKay was ready to take on Patterson. He turned to Douglas to fire the first shot, a resolution that the Senate Committee on Finance inquire into the striking of \$1 and \$20 gold pieces. It passed unanimously. That things might be different this time around became apparent when Representative James Pollock introduced a petition from Union County, Pennsylvania, praying for the authorization of \$1 gold coins.

Gauging his support, McKay had a bill authorizing only the \$1 gold piece reported out of the Ways and Means Committee on January 25, 1849. Just as before, it would be exempt from the requirement of an eagle on its reverse. But that was not all; McKay supplemented his bill with a public relations campaign to drum up support. Even before the bill was introduced, the Daily Globe published an article calling for an experiment with such a coin. In support of its position, the newspaper opined that quarter eagles were inconvenient because of their fractional value and their monetary size. Nine times out often, their face value was too big for an ordinary purchase. The silver dollar was too heavy and large, while the competing paper dollar was too light and subject to depreciation, if not outright counterfeiting.

Once the bill was on the floor of the House, McKay went to the editors of the Washington Union to push for adoption. He pointed out that a \$1 gold coin would replace some of the ragged

banknotes. It would also be a convenient way to send money by mail. McKay showed the newspaper a "made for coining" \$1 coin, the size of a half dime with a square aperture in its center. This piece had been hand engraved with an incused design. On one side were 13 stars and the date. On the other was the imprint "United States of America" surrounding a wreath.

Not employing a die, the coin had a thrown-together, crude look. The square hole, while permitting a thicker and broader coin, also had the advantage of making the gold piece easily distinguishable from other pocket change.

McKay then sent Patterson the article in the Washington Union, asking for his opinion. He also raised the issue of a \$20 gold piece. Once again, Patterson sent six trial \$1 coins, three gold and three gilt. Patterson felt the form as described in the article, with a square hole in the center, would be very objectionable. Obviously, McKay had used a Washington jeweler to gin up that example. Patterson admitted that he had no objection to a double eagle other than that it was not needed. It would be between a half dollar and silver dollar in size with the potential to be a handsome coin.

With the active support of the press for the new \$1 gold coin, Patterson had no option but to quickly develop designs for the coin. Peale urged him to go outside the Mint for this work. He even stated that the oversight obligation rested with the chief coiner. Richard McCulloh, the Mint's Melter and Refiner since 1846, knew of Peale's efforts and went to Longacre, spurring the engraver to action. Uncharacteristically, Longacre went to Patterson and told him he was ready to commence the work. He made the additional point that the coinage laws charged the engraver with the duty to provide the dies for all coins. Surprisingly, Patterson gave in to Longacre.

Patterson instructed the engraver to give precedence to the small gold coin. Consistent with his desire for the application of one design across several coins, an obverse would be developed for use on both coins. The reverse of the dollar coin would be simply a wreath enclosing the denomination and date of the coin with "United States of America" around the rim. Longacre, with strong guidance from Patterson, quickly chose as his model for Liberty Venus Accroupie (Venus Crouching) from a collection at the Louvre. Patterson sent a resulting sketch to Secretary of the Treasury Meredith, keeping him in the loop.

In that same letter to Meredith, Patterson also relayed the diameters to be implemented. They were proportional to the cube roots of each coin's volume and, when the metal was the same, to their values. The double eagle would have a diameter of 1.32 inches and the \$1 coin, 0.5 inches. Patterson could not help taking one last shot against the dollar gold piece, knowing that East Coast Whigs were generally against it. The diameter of the dollar coin would be less by one-sixth that of a half dime. This was necessary, given that volume of the coin was one-third that of the half dime. If the diameter were to be increased, the planchet would be so thin as to cause a problem bringing up the obverse and reverse designs when struck.

The engraver started immediately to make a model in wax of the head to be used on the obverse. In many ways this engraving was more difficult than that of a larger coin because of the minute nature of the work. Sensitive to criticism coming from art circles, Longacre had decided on a higher relief. He intended to try to give an expression and character to the design more consistent

with approved standards of art than had been utilized to date on American coins. Longacre firmly believed that the idea of beauty or grace in the art of design without a convexity of line was impossible.

Through the remainder of March and into April, Longacre labored at his first real engraving attempt. Seeking to put his work above criticism and ensuring its adaptation to the coin press, he made the obverse master die and hubs for the working dies twice over. By the beginning of May, work was progressing rapidly. He acquired his "Liberty" punch for the figure's headband, a finishing touch. He had a working die ready for the obverse on May 3. Four days later the hub for the reverse was ready.

On May 8, production began. Longacre proudly scooped up one of the little gold pieces from the first day's run and put it in an envelope for John Calhoun. He wrote Calhoun that this coin represented his first opportunity since his appointment to execute a design from start to finish and he wanted the senator to have this piece as a token of his gratitude.

In reviewing Longacre's diary entries for that first week in May, there is no question that he was rushed at the end. The reason was Patterson. McKay's public-relations campaign had been more successful than need be. Coupled with enthusiasm generated by the California gold strike, public anticipation for the new coins was now at a fever pitch.

The Washington Union waded into the fray on May 6. Their article alleged the delay had been caused by the time consumed making the master dies and hubs. The chief coiner had \$100,000 in gold planchets and strips ready to support production. It had been rumored that Patterson had held back on issuing the new coin because he was opposed to its authorization. Patterson would never stoop to such an action nor would he condescend to defend himself from such slanderous claims. This article had too much inside information; it was a Mint plant. The real question was how was it planted: Franklin Peale on his own or with Patterson's acquiescing knowledge? In either case the conduit would have been Titian Peale, now employed as an assistant examiner in the U.S. Patent Office. One thing was certain: Longacre was expendable if the criticism heated up.

Longacre had hurried the reverse, drawing heavily from Gobrecht's design for the reverse of the half dime. No previous engraver had been asked to turn out work that quickly. In a questionable move, Longacre left the wreath open at the top, giving the effect of deemphasizing that "1" element of the design. The heat quickly evaporated with the issuance of the new \$1 coin. The Washington Union proclaimed it a little bijou, beautifully executed. The newspaper positively glowed over the obverse design, a bust of the goddess of Liberty encircled by her brilliant stars. There was such taste and prettiness about the gold piece's looks; it was so much more beautiful than the ragged \$1 banknotes.

Still, from other papers there was a grumble about the coin's small size. They compared it in diameter to Bechtler's dollar and found it wanting. That was not a fair comparison; the Bechtler dollar bore only inscriptions; no design devices complicated its strikeability, allowing for a thinner planchet.

After the dust had settled, Longacre went back to the reverse design to modify the wreath. He closed it up around the numeral 1, a small but significant improvement. He did this without complaint, meaning that if Patterson originated the change, Longacre agreed with it. It was all done quietly with no release to the press

and no internal communication to the Treasury Department. In fact, official notification to Treasury only came in March 1850 when Meredith sent Patterson a closed wreath \$1 gold piece and asked if it was a counterfeit.

Now Longacre's stock was up with Patterson. The Washington Union reported at the end of May that the new head of Liberty was due to the genius of the engraver at the Mint.

#### Part 4: The \$20 Gold Coin

James Longacre found himself totally done in by the effort to get the \$1 gold piece design into production. He had taxed his body too severely and now feared for his health. He shrank from the thought of the \$20 gold piece design that stared him in the face. Consequently, he went to Patterson to seek approval to hire an assistant as the little "Mint drops," the nickname for the dollar coins, were just going into circulation.

To Longacre's surprise, Patterson would have none of it. Still stung from criticism due to supposed delays in the dollar coin's reaching circulation, Patterson had a different idea. He had no objection to having the engraving done outside the Mint to ease Longacre's burden. If it could not be done in Philadelphia, it could be done in another city, or even in Europe for that matter. Longacre understood; he was getting no help.

The design concepts for the double eagle were relatively straightforward. For the obverse, Longacre would follow the original intent to carryover the Liberty head from the \$1 gold coin. Also, it did not hurt that by now public approval of the dollar-coin design was universal. The reverse would incorporate a variation on the Great Seal, reflecting Patterson's opinion that nothing else would meet with approval in Washington. Longacre's early attempts produced a reverse entirely too complex. From there, Longacre refined his design, clearing the field and adding a double scroll that joined over the eagle's shield. This double scroll alluded to the name of the coin - the double eagle - and contained the motto "E Pluribus Unum." The eagle's wings were now outstretched and the halo of 13 stars and above that, sunrays in an arc, were sharpened.

Next, Longacre made a fateful decision; he would try for high relief. With the double eagle, Longacre felt he had a perfect opportunity to answer critics of the Mint's low-relief coinage. To set his relief, he proportionally scaled up the head from the gold dollar, which had been coined easily enough.

Modeling first commenced on the reverse. Following established procedure, Longacre asked Peale's foreman, George Eckfeldt, to prepare a metallic disc to commence the work. George was the son of Adam's half brother. Nothing happened. When he queried Eckfeldt, he learned that Peale had forbidden the work, saying that it would be of no use to Longacre. The engraver immediately went to Patterson and forced the issue of Peale's compliance.

Peale had good reason for his refusal. The curvature specified for the disc was a forewarning that Longacre intended high relief. Peale knew instantly that he did not have the necessary steam power to strike up this design. He also doubted that the working dies could withstand for any length of time the repeated stress when placed into production. What Longacre was proposing was a die for a medal and not for a coin. He was standing his ground as chief coiner and the only officer competent to judge



**\$20.00 Gold coin, 1849**

*Silver die trial, No Date.*

*James B. Longacre*

proper curvature and depth for coinage production. While high-handed in his approach, Peale was on firm ground.

Longacre did not see it that way. Was the problem want of sufficient power or an improperly executed die? It reminded Longacre of a story about a barber unable to fit Benjamin Franklin with a wig. The wig was not too small; the head was too big. This analogy oversimplified the issue, as Longacre would shortly learn, much to his grief. Regardless, Patterson sided with his engraver over his friend and Peale had to supply the disc prepared to Longacre's specifications.

Longacre proceeded to complete this high-relief first reverse model in copper only to encounter more trouble from Peale. The plan called for Peale to prepare an electrotype mold that would serve to make a cast in steel for the reduction. The process, using a galvanic battery in the apartments of the chief coiner, failed, destroying Longacre's model. Longacre had only a backup in plaster. It was not perfect and would require the engraver to make corrections at the completion of the reduction process in the master die.

Once the die was completed, it went back to the coining department to be hardened. Disaster struck again. The die split during the hardening process and Longacre could do nothing but start over. It was now October and the engraver still had the obverse master die to complete as well as the hubs.

By now a personal element had entered the equation. Longacre's 42-year-old wife, Eliza, was pregnant with their fourth child. The due date was the following April. Devoutly religious, Longacre would have taken solace in his beliefs. Both husband and wife knew that a pregnancy this late in life could be fraught with complications.

Feeling overwhelmed and dismayed at his lack of progress, Longacre again asked Patterson for help. This time the director gave in. But with no more progress than had been made since the summer, Patterson must have doubted whether Longacre was up to the task.

Longacre approached C.C. Wright in New York, who directed him to Peter Cross. Sometime during this process, whether it was through Cross or more likely the highly accomplished Wright, Longacre came to the realization that he must compromise his expectations for the relief on the double eagle. He was adamant that the obverse stay true in scale to the relief of the \$1 gold piece. However, he was going to have to remove the relief from the reverse. The Greeks could only maintain relief on one

side. The Romans made no improvements. Even the Italian Renaissance masters could not produce relief on both sides of their magnificent medals. If he did not make this change, his design would never strike properly.

Cross commenced working at the Mint on November 6, 1849, at a weekly salary of \$16. With an experienced diesinker on board, progress was steady. However, there was frustration of another kind. The days were short and the light deficient in Longacre's work area. Now more frequently than ever, what light existed was blocked by the smoke from the steam engines and the melting and refining furnaces struggling under the backlog of gold bullion.

As work was drawing to a close, Longacre took a moment to give the departing Melter and Refiner, Richard McCulloh a gift, a plaster cast from his first reverse of the double eagle. McCulloh, wishing to make this memento of their friendship less fragile, had a copy made in metal that Longacre later touched up with his graver.

Peter Cross returned to New York on December 20. A trial for the new design with a high-relief obverse was set for December 22, 1849. Longacre was not present for the test. As the trial was being set up, the workmen involved noted the hardness of the alloyed gold to be used. It seemed as hard as the steel die with which it was to be struck. Jacob Eckfeldt, the assayer, made the same observation, questioning the amount of copper used in the alloying. At least one coin was struck using the screw press. Peale reported the results in a letter to Patterson on December 24, 1849. Patterson immediately sent a sample to Meredith for the secretary's approval. In a most perfunctory and detached manner, the mint director absolved himself of any responsibility for the delay and asked Meredith's prompt approval that as many of these coins could be struck in the remaining few days of 1849 as possible. He was passing no judgment on this coin, particularly its coinability since it had not be struck on a steam-powered production press.

Franklin Peale had a different opinion expressed in a letter to Patterson on December 24. The impression of the new double eagle could not be brought up on the standard coin press. The depth of the head on the obverse was such that the steel of the die could not sustain the degree of pressure necessary to give a full impression. In addition, there was also the minor disadvantage that the head projected above the rim of the coin, preventing the coin from being stacked for counting purposes at banks and unnecessarily subjecting it to abrasion that would cause intrinsic value issues over time.

The chief coiner's letter galvanized Patterson to action. On Christmas Day he explained in a letter to Meredith that the sample before the secretary had not been struck on the ordinary steam press. A number subsequent to the trial strike of December 22nd were produced on this press with unsatisfactory results. Patterson enclosed Peale's letter for good measure. Patterson told Secretary Meredith that the relief of the obverse die was too high for coinage. He inferred that given the time taken by Longacre to prepare the first die, the delay to correct this mistake would be very considerable. That was a gross exaggeration. Patterson was setting forth his defense should criticism develop over this delay, as had been the case with the one-dollar coin in the spring.

Peale delivered the bad news personally to Longacre in the presence of Patterson on December 26. Longacre was chagrinned that the head of Liberty projected above the coin's rim. He af-

terward called the test striking a failure and referred to it as little as possible. He admitted after the fact that he had overestimated the ability of the coin press to fully bring up the details of the obverse. The power of a coin press was specific and fixed. However, the striking force was also a function of the surface area to be struck, and it diminished in proportion to the diameter of the planchet used. Thus what worked on a gold dollar coin became problematic on the double eagle. Longacre had no option but to recommend that the relief of the head of Liberty be reduced on those elements that did not strike up.

While the failure of the trial was not an issue, questions remained. The observation of the men involved that the hardness of the gold was exceptional has merit. Copper alloyed with gold in use at the Mint since 1795 certainly does make for a harder metal. McCulloh was gone from the refining department and James Booth, his successor, would not yet be effective. Yet J. B. Reynolds, McCulloh's right-hand man, who no doubt prepared this refined gold, was competent enough. There is one other option. Excessive rolling, bending, or stretching of gold will cause it to harden as well. Preparing planchets of a new size and thickness from the gold bars provided by the refining department was the responsibility of Peale. This was the more likely source of the excessive hardness.

Was there only one coin struck in the December 22 trial? That piece has survived in the Mint Cabinet and has become unique in American numismatic lore. However, a single striking goes against simple logic. The December 1849 wastage report for double eagles showed a loss of 2.34 troy ounces; that translates into 1123.2 grains. The specifications for the new double eagles called for a standard gold weight of 516 grains. Clearly, the wastage report supports the striking of a second double eagle from these dies. In addition, Longacre later spoke to the injury of the dies used in this first trial. It is clear there was no failure in striking the first trial specimen on December 22. The failure must have come during the multiple strikings with the ordinary steam press attempted before Peale's report of December 24. Substantiating this conclusion, Peale in later testimony stated that for all intents and purposes, the dies were destroyed within an hour. No wastage was reported from this activity leading to the conclusion that these pieces went to the melting pot.

To say that Robert Maskell Patterson was disappointed by the results would be an understatement. He sought and obtained Meredith's permission to replace Longacre. After all these years, Patterson was finally turning to Charles Cushing Wright, the preeminent American medal engraver. Patterson sent a feeler to Wright on December 29.

*"Let me ask, in perfect confidence, whether you would, if appointed, accept the office of Engraver at this Mint. The salary is \$2,000 per annum. The duties occupy but little time, except when original dies are to be made. I beg you to give me an immediate answer."*

There was much left unsaid in this letter. Since, at this point, Patterson was not traveling, it is highly likely that a personal visit was made by Peale to seal the deal. The circumstantial evidence supporting this assumption is that Wright accepted, began to wind down his business, and started work on a new reverse model for the double eagle.

Longacre, unaware of this vote of no confidence, called Cross back to the Mint. The assistant arrived on January 9 and started work the next day, putting the finishing touches on Longacre's efforts to reduce the obverse relief. The following day, Longacre finished the hub for the obverse.

Longacre went to Peale to set up another trial strike. To his amazement, Peale declined. The chief coiner had no gold in readiness for the trial. Peale was obviously stalling. More importantly, Patterson's silence on the matter was deafening. Longacre had no option but to sit and wait. Two weeks later, on January 26, Peale announced he was ready. Again the test was conducted in Peale's apartments using the screw press. Again the piece did not meet Peale's approval. The only defect that Longacre could see was a slight flatness in the center of Liberty's head. At this point, the chief coiner told Longacre that the position of Liberty's head on the obverse must be moved in order for the design to strike up. Longacre was frustrated that Peale would wait until this late date to mention this option. Had it been mentioned earlier in the process, Longacre would have objected only as a matter of taste. Given the near absence of relief on the reverse, it is hard to understand how Peale's suggestion of moving Liberty's head would have improved the results of the trial strike. It certainly would have further delayed the project.

Longacre then asked Peale for one of the newly struck trial pieces from which to make further adjustments in the relief. Again to his amazement, Peale refused. The chief coiner declined on the grounds that he would have difficulty with his accounts. Longacre offered to make up the difference from his own pocket. Peale absolutely refused a second time. In frustration, Longacre asked what he was to do. Peale then suggested an impression in silver. The hardness was hardly comparable but Longacre felt he had no alternative.

Peale later defended himself for what was really an indefensible position. He attached no particular importance to having an impression in gold. A diesinker did not require proof impressions in gold before he completed his work. On the contrary the only impression in gold a diesinker saw was that of the completed coin. He believed that Longacre's real objective was to exhibit the pieces as triumphant evidences of his success and to refute to ignorant parties the unfitness of his dies for coinage. It was a well-known fact that a few single impressions from dies with the depth and characteristics of a medal could be made using excessive power from the coining press. To the eyes of the public these special strikes would present a bold, effective, and attractive appearance. However, those experienced in the process of coining knew that the dies would fail and the machinery suffer under the stress of the excessive pressure used to repeatedly strike up the high relief design. As Peale had legal custody of the piece, he refused to let Longacre have it to induce snap judgments from the uninitiated. In other words, Peale was covering in order to give his boss time to maneuver Longacre out of the Mint.

Now the jockeying began. Longacre tried to see Patterson for a personal interview but each time it seemed that Peale would appear, thwarting Longacre's efforts to defend himself privately to the director. Finally, on January 30, Longacre penned a long missive to Patterson. The engraver did not discuss the early difficulties with the reverse die. He acknowledged that more work remained after this second trial striking. However, he lambasted Peale for not giving him the trial strike in gold upon which to base his adjustments in relief. He went on to state that he had

compared the silver impression to gold coins currently in production. The lack of a full strike on Longacre's double eagle was no worse than what was coming off the production line at that time. Longacre still had not fully grasped the concept that a trial on a screw press did not constitute a fair test of how the coin would strike up in full production. He also excused the length of time he had taken to reach this point, blaming the newness of the size of the double eagle and his lack of any gold coin of comparable size upon which to base his relief. At least Longacre was acknowledging that scaling up from the dollar gold coin to determine relief had been a mistake.

In closing, Longacre couched his words carefully, but there was no mistaking the underlying intent.

*"It is not my wish to trouble you with a multiplicity of issues at this juncture—my object is to contribute what I can to secure and elevate the interests and credit of this branch of the public service; but should my intercourse with the coining department encounter in the future the impediments I have recently experienced, I shall be compelled to ask for a striking press to be placed under my direction for the purpose of proving my own work independently of any adverse interference and for the protection of my feelings as a gentleman."*

These words captured Robert Maskell Patterson's attention but not in the way that Longacre intended. It could be inferred that Longacre was building a case in his defense should the government seek his removal. It forced Patterson to act.

Patterson did not formally respond with an answering letter. Several days later he dropped into Longacre's work space to talk. The conversation was general, almost banal in nature, concerning the trial and the direction in which Longacre was headed. Patterson never brought up the issue of Peale's seeming lack of cooperation. Then, a couple days later, Patterson returned. He had "painful intelligence" to communicate; the executive authority of the government had determined that Longacre should be removed from office. Patterson called the decision imperative and he urgently advised Longacre to resign.

The engraver was stunned. His first inclination was to fold his tent and leave, given the obvious animosity of both Peale and Patterson. But as the shock wore off, he realized that his actions were not cause for termination; any decision for his removal had to have been based upon misrepresentations. Longacre dug his heels in, requesting an interview with the secretary of the Treasury. He was not walking into this meeting completely cold. One of his earliest and more agreeable engravings for his book of great Americans was that of Gouverneur Morris, Meredith's great uncle. At the time of its execution, Longacre gained the friendship of Meredith's father. Still, Longacre was leaving no stone unturned; he also mentioned in his note to Meredith that he was probably the only Mint official who voted for President Zachary Taylor.

Longacre did not wait for a reply, taking the train to Washington on the same day he penned the note. The two men met the following day, February 13, 1850. Meredith appeared much pressed with business and he only gave Longacre a brief interview. The engraver initiated the discussion by mentioning that he had just learned of the government's dissatisfaction with his work and he wanted to understand how he had given offense. Meredith commented that he had been told the engraver was no diesinker.

Longacre responded that the job called for an engraver and in that regard his qualifications could not be disputed. In his words, not one of his predecessors had been a diesinker by trade either. He had been in office for five years without complaint.

The next exchange cemented Longacre's belief that the dissatisfaction with his performance was not in Washington but was of a homegrown nature. Longacre brought a silver impression grudgingly provided by Peale on January 26. Meredith showed surprise, wanting to know what had become of the dies used to strike this specimen. Longacre now knew that Meredith was operating from knowledge provided by Patterson after the failure occurring between December 22 and 24. Longacre told the secretary that the dies were in perfect order. Longacre asked permission to make a statement of facts to Meredith and to be directed to finish the work on the double eagle. Meredith concurred and Longacre now had breathing room.

Longacre's letter to Meredith set out in detail the problems he had encountered in the development of his design. He spared no detail, discussing the ruined electrotype casting mold and the split die, the poor light in his work room, and even his mistake in assuming the level of relief achievable on the obverse. He provided details of his confrontation with Peale on January 26. He noted that at the Royal Mint in London, the engraver had the final say on the fitness of the dies and not, Longacre inferred, the chief coiner. He addressed his lack of qualification as a diesinker. For an engraver to discharge his duties he must be a designer, a modeler, and have a general knowledge of numismatics. Diesinking was but a minor part of the duties of the office. With the letter complete, Longacre proceeded to prepare what he would call his second model of the obverse, dismissing the December 22 trial as a complete failure.

What Longacre did not know was that Meredith had taken the engraver's letter with the silver trial strike to President Taylor for his review. The president, with the uninitiated eye that Peale so feared, told Meredith that Longacre should not be concerned about his position as long as President Taylor was in power. It had another impact as well. Wright had written Patterson on February 12 asking for direction, Was the job his or not? He must renegotiate his shop lease by February 20 or terminate. This last delay took Wright out of the picture.

The engraver now kept Meredith's apprised of his progress, realizing that he had no other supporter. On March 1, he sent the secretary impressions in fusible metal from his second set of dies. They would demonstrate for Meredith the relief now being applied to the obverse. Based on a newly completed trial, Longacre believed that the relief was strikeable with the existing coin press. However, he was not happy with the flatness of the reverse as he felt it would not stand up to public scrutiny. In defense of his work, given the constraints of the coin presses at the Mint, he told Meredith that he had sent Congressman Moore, the Whig representative from Longacre's district, a metallic cast of his original high-relief reverse. Meredith was free to inspect it at his convenience and it would provide a more exact measure of Longacre's skills as an artist. It was also a subtle way of conveying to Meredith that the engraver had additional connections to the Philadelphia Whig establishment.

The new double eagles were struck from Longacre's second die on March 12, 1850. Patterson sent two to Meredith, one of

which was to be forwarded to the president. Patterson could not help criticizing the design one more time. These double eagles had been struck with all the force that could be applied and to such a degree as to injure the die, yet the impression was still not perfect. The face of Liberty was still too much in relief. Longacre did not feel that way about his design. He even managed to get his hands on one of the double eagles from the first obverse striking on January 26 for his personal collection.

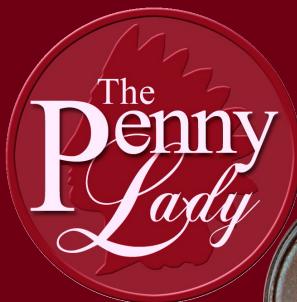
The public began to see these coins in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia over the final two weeks of March. The reaction was lukewarm at best. The Boston Transcript called the coin simply ugly. The New York Tribune considered the design awkward; the eagle of the reverse was out of proportion with the head of Liberty on the obverse. Others were more complimentary. Adams Express showed the new coin to the reporters of the Philadelphia Inquirer, who called it truly beautiful. The lesser-known Philadelphia Sun stated that it far exceeded the other gold coins in elegance as in value. A cute turn of phrase, this report appeared in a number of papers and constituted what passed at the time for a Mint press release. It was stingy in its praise. There were no reports of interest about the new coin coming out of Washington. In fact, most newspapers hardly took note. This coin had had Patterson disapproval from the start and now he would do no more than was required in promoting its issuance.

Patterson had lost Wright but he had not given up the fight to rid himself of Longacre. On April 1, he wrote to Meredith. The extension of time that the secretary had granted Longacre was over and he wished to know where the matter stood. If the office of engraver was to be vacated, Patterson proposed that a replacement not be appointed at least until the next session of Congress. In the meantime Patterson would engage the assistance of the best artists in the country to execute a new series of designs for American coins that would meet with Meredith approval. This would justify Patterson recommendation for the abolishment of the engraver's position. Patterson meant to do away with Longacre's double eagle design, decidedly the best to enter general circulation from the Mint to that point and one that would stand the test of time.

On April 6, Eliza Longacre went into labor and delivered a daughter. Three days later, she was taken seriously ill with a fever. She appeared to make progress by mid-April to the point that Longacre was able to travel on business. However, she took a turn for the worse and died on May 1, 1850. The child - Longacre never did refer to the girl by name in his diary - died on June 2, 1850. At this juncture, Patterson mercifully ceased pushing for Longacre's removal; yet their relationship remained strained.

### ***Part 5: The 3 Cent Silver coin.***

Not everything went Patterson's way in the Thirty-First Congress. In May 1850, during the first session, Senator Dickinson introduced legislation authorizing a three-cent piece. The idea was not new; it had been broached in the Ways and Means Committee of the House in 1849. The concept at that point involved a "silver" coin with a fineness of less than .500. Patterson had some patterns hastily ginned up but expressed concern that a coin of so little silver content would be easily counterfeited.



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The bill that reached the floor in 1850 was well thought out. In a radical move, it broke from the requirement of intrinsic value. The coin would weigh 12.375 grains, proportional to the other silver coins, but would be composed of three-quarters silver and one-quarter copper, giving it an intrinsic value of 2-and-a-half cents. In this manner the coin would circulate instead of being shipped to the melting pots of Europe. It would be legal tender for debts up to 30 cents. The Mint would pay out the three-cent piece in exchange for fractional foreign silver coins. Thus, once production began, the silver necessary to maintain output of the three-cent piece would come from the retired foreign fractional pieces. To promote the retiring of the foreign coins, the Mint would be authorized to pay reasonable freight to the depositors. Seigniorage profits would go toward defraying the Mint's contingent expense."

Adding a new circulating coin at a time when the Mint was still struggling to coin the gold bullion being delivered was out of the question. In addition, the legislation called for a controversial companion one-cent piece of 75 percent copper and 25 percent silver. Still, Patterson had another pattern quickly prepared based upon the pileus designed by Gobrecht for Peale's commemorative medal, issued as the first steam-press coinage in 1837.

The bill never gained traction in the Senate, holding over to the second session. The picture brightened considerably for the three-cent piece in 1851. In its second session, the Thirty-First Congress took up consideration of a law to reduce the postal rate from five cents for a one-sheet letter to a destination of under 300 miles to three cents, extending the destination distance to 3,000 miles in a move designed to subsidize communication throughout the vastly expanded country. At this point, support for a three-cent piece took hold. Deficient in intrinsic value, the piece was expected to stay in circulation and it would help facilitate the implementation of the new postal rate. As a result, a clause authorizing the piece was folded into the legislation.

However, excluded from the language was the retirement of the foreign fractional silver and the section pertaining to the allocation of profits from the seigniorage. The bill became law on March 3, 1851, the last day of the session.

James Longacre was still under close scrutiny at the Mint. There must be no repeat of his experience with the double eagle. He was ready, having anticipated the legislation in February. The law required the new coin be sufficiently different in design from the other American silver coins and that it contain the denomination, the date, and the inscription "United States of America."

Longacre's work progressed well. For the obverse, he settled upon a shield—his favorite motif—within a six-pointed star. On the rim surrounding the star was "United States of America" and the date. The reverse held a large ornamental "C" encircling the Roman numeral III surrounded by 13 stars. This design for this tiny coin was simple and clean. However its size would soon earn the nickname "fish scale" from the American public.

Patterson had more worries than the design; the mechanics of implementing the new denomination had not really been addressed in the legislation. The Mint director's first concern was finding the silver to mint the coins. With silver coin leaving the country, Patterson was seeing only trifling amounts at the Mint. Furthermore, he knew that no one in their right mind was going to bring in silver coin at .900 fine to exchange at par for the new .750 fine three-cent pieces. How would he get them into circulation?"



**Three Cent Silver coin, 1851**  
**James B. Longacre**

By early March Patterson had settled down enough to make recommendations to the Treasury. He now had enough silver stock to initiate production. What he did not tell the Treasury Department was where the silver was going to come from. Effective April 1, Patterson ordered that silver alloy be cut back in gold coins to the prior levels used before the previous November. He had enough refining capacity now and if this stopped the Mint from working off the backlog of bullion, so be it. He did not really care.

At this point, he recommended that the treasurer of the Mint have the authority to purchase silver bullion for use in supplying the three-cent piece on an ongoing basis. The treasurer would exchange three-cent pieces for their legal equivalent in other U.S. coinage in bulk sales of no less than \$30 and no more than \$150. The Mint would pay transportation for up to 3 percent of the amount sold. Profits from the sales of these coins would go toward bullion purchases and transportation expenses.

In this same communication, Patterson asked for guidance as to where these coins would be struck. The law merely specified the Mint and its branches. New Orleans could implement it but the branches at Charlotte and Dahlonega were not authorized by law to strike silver coins and had no bullion on hand. He also mentioned that the dies for the new coins were nearly ready and that specimens would be sent in a few days. Patterson received no definitive answer from the Treasury regarding his dilemma; they were taking his recommendations under advisement. In the meantime he was to prepare for a prompt and large issue of the three-cent piece. Patterson did get one answer; New Orleans was the only branch mint that would issue the new coin.

Again the specter of Franklin Peale overshadowed this project. Longacre was preparing one set of designs. Yet Patterson intended to submit "specimens." The coiner wanted the pattern from 1850, which was associated with him as much as with Gobrecht, to be considered. Patterson consented, requiring Longacre to strike several of these pieces to be included for review by Treasury secretary Corwin and the president. Patterson was giving Peale a shot at getting a design on a circulating U.S. coin. Longacre steamed at what he considered pure interference. What Patterson did not tell Longacre was that he had recommended that, given Longacre's official position as engraver, Longacre's design be chosen as long as no inferiorities were found. It was a weak endorsement of Longacre work.

The president and the secretary of the Treasury decided on Longacre's design. Still, implementation questions remained in Patterson's mind. Secretary Corwin had not given him the authority to accept gold in exchange for the three-cent pieces. In his frustration, he reminded the Treasury Department that no one was going to trade silver for the little coin. However, it really didn't matter anyway.

On June 30, 1851 Robert Maskell Patterson stepped down as Mint director after 16 years of service. George Eckert replaced him in that position. His family would always maintain that ill health was the reason for the retirement. The real reason was that he stayed just a bit too long in the position in the hopes of securing the position for his son, Bob Patterson.

### **Part 6: Peale's Turpeting Sofa.**

George Eckert was thrown into a maelstrom at the Mint. With Patterson gone, Richard McCulloh, the former Melter and Refiner, accused Peale and the Mint for bias in rejecting his refining process the previous winter. He sent a letter to President Fillmore on August 1 detailing the abuse of power at the Mint. He accused Peale of lavish unnecessary expenditures and a mysterious relationship between Peale and Patterson. Eckert was chosen to investigate the charges of malfeasance against Peale and to report on the expediency of testing McCulloh's refining method.

The refining method in use at the time required nitric acid and two pounds of silver for every pound of gold to produce pure gold while recovering the silver. McCulloh proposed substituting the nitric acid and silver with zinc. This would be a great saving for the Mint and a great financial windfall for McCulloh.

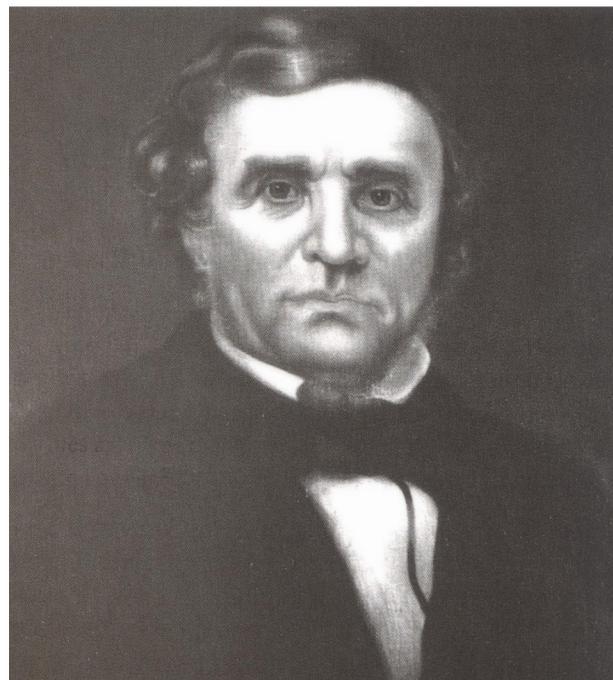
In November 1851, the Mint director had asked Longacre for details of Peale's interference in the engraver's duties. Acting on McCulloh's advice, Longacre had insisted that his response to the inquiry be in writing. Out came all the details of the double eagle design difficulties and the interference with the design for the three-cent piece. Longacre had company; Eckert also sought the testimony of William DuBois concerning the Polk medal. DuBois had forgotten the details and had to go to the records to refresh his memory. The only information Eckert received from DuBois was a regurgitation of what he could have seen for himself had he gone to the accounting ledgers. Eckert then interviewed one of the workmen; however, he took no written testimony from him.

At this point, Eckert sat on the investigation. However, matters did not cooperate with the Mint director's desire for a low profile for his chief coiner. Outside requests flowed in for medals. There was the medal for the Worcester Mechanics Institute and C.C. Wright wanted to have a special gold medal for Henry Clay struck at the Mint. Permission was granted in each case, provided Mint operations were not disrupted and that costs were borne by the outside parties.

When in early January 1852 it became apparent that the venerable Adam Eckfeldt was at his end, Peale pushed for an assistant. He argued that his title, chief coiner, implied that he was entitled to an assistant. In Peale's words, Adam Eckfeldt had previously filled this position, acting in the chief coiner's absence. Seeing an opportunity, both Booth and Jacob Eckfeldt had already asked for help. It was clear the three men were acting in concert. There was no way that Eckert could act on this request, even if he wanted to.

Eckert had shared the full range of McCulloh's charges with Peale; however, he had not shown him the supporting testimony. It was to these charges that Peale addressed his defense in a letter dated April 15, 1852. In this communication, Peale stated that the mysterious influence he had upon Robert Maskell Patterson was nothing more than an enduring friendship of 25 or 30 years. Peale's esteem for Patterson was unbounded and undeviating.

Peale had a defense for each piece of failed equipment



**George Eckert**  
**Director of the Mint 1851-1853**

that he had designed. Invariably, unforeseen circumstances had intervened to render each innovation of no benefit to the Mint. Perhaps the most questionable of his defenses involved the steam draw bench. According to Peale, it had been made at the request of the superintendent of the Charlotte Mint. It had proven "unmanageable," but it was successfully modified and was now in use at Charlotte.

Peale reserved special attention to his trumpeting sofa. It had been made of white pine and painted; the sofa was as plain as possible. He had made the upholstery and "appendages" principally, if not entirely, by his own hand. The alarm that sounded might or might not be considered an important safeguard for the premises. The sofa was now in Eckert's office. The Mint director could judge whether or not the matter was worthy of a misdemeanor charge.

Perhaps sensing that his defense of the sofa was over the top, Peale shifted to the offense. He claimed credit for the productivity improvements he had brought back from Europe and implemented at the Mint. In each instance his labors had been given freely to the Mint. In this context, he addressed the issue of the balance, of which he had constructed many over the course of his time at the Mint. McCulloh just happened to highlight the one time when Peale had tried to make an ornamental balance.

Like DuBois, Peale suffered from a loss of memory regarding the Polk medal. The records showed that the bill for the medal was made out in the name of George Hall, the man Peale had advanced to Eckert as his choice for assistant coiner. It appeared the bill had been withdrawn and the amount made up by a contribution from the officers. Eckert would have to determine if Peale's actions were "unofficerlike" and demoralizing.

Peale reserved special attention to the charges made by Longacre. He had extended every effort to cooperate with Longacre on the design of the double eagle to ensure no delays occurred. The acts that Longacre claimed were interference were, on the contrary, required of Peale in his official capacity as the only offi-

cial competent to judge the proper depth of the dies. Peale regretted that Longacre misconstrued these actions but, under similar circumstances, Peale would feel constrained to act in a similar manner. He particularly defended his refusal to allow Longacre to take possession of a trial strike in gold of his double eagle design at the end of January 1850.

Peale was pointed in stating that as chief coiner he was the only official and competent judge of the proper depth and curvature of the dies. He was therefore bound to exercise his judgment and give his opinion. It was Longacre's place to conform to the exigencies of the coining operation and the restriction imposed by the materials of which the dies were made. Contrary to Peale's advice, Longacre set the relief of the dies for the double eagle too great. They were medal dies rather than coinage dies. As a consequence, these dies gave way within an hour under the excessive pressure used to bring up details of the design. Peale also noted that after the second trial, the dies had to be cut down to reduce the relief on certain high points before they could be put into production. As a result, the relief of Liberty was injured in some parts, while it remained too great in others. On the whole, the coin remained very far from creditable to the country.

At this point Peale became downright nasty toward Longacre. He claimed the engraver had had almost uninterrupted leisure since the issuing of the double eagle. It was well known that since Peale introduced the reducing lathe to the Mint, the office of engraver had become a sinecure except when Congress ordered a new coin. Since the double eagle, the only work required of the engraver had been the design of the three-cent piece. For this, Longacre had used the services of a trained diesinker from New York. Peale denied any knowledge of a supposed attempt to substitute a different three-cent piece design for that of Longacre's. Peale summed up his opinion of Longacre by stating that the engraver had had ample time to improve the double eagle with new dies as well as time to rework the entire series of U.S. coins, a task any good artist would have undertaken.

Peale admitted that he had used the workmen at odd times for chores around his house. It was a well-known fact that before the California Gold Rush, there were periods of considerable length when it was impossible to find work at the Mint for the men to do. Activity was dependent upon the intake of precious metals, which was impossible to predict. Peale would accept volunteer services, always of a trifling nature and never at a time when they would impede the Mint in the slightest.

Peale saved the most egregious accusation for last. The business of striking medals at the Mint had been practiced before he became chief coiner. Eckfeldt, appointed by Washington, did it; McCulloh, by inference, was attacking Eckfeldt. While nothing in the law permitted the Mint to strike medals, the government had had need of the services of the chief coiner to prepare national medals from the beginning. In doing so, the government always treated the chief coiner on a private footing and compensated him for his work. Most times, consent was sought to strike these medals and it was never refused. Since McCulloh's complaint, consent had been sought every time. The monetary gain of the chief coiner was not at the expense of the government, which must pay to have the medals struck regardless of who performed the work. The only advantage to the chief coiner was the use of the old screw press, no longer necessary in Mint operations. Peale conveniently omitted that this press was still used to make working dies

from the hubs. Peale stated that the materials and compensation of the workmen were the charge of the chief coiner. Had Peale seen the testimony of the workmen to McCulloh, he might have modified that last statement.

Peale tried to close on a positive note. He had gone to much effort to collect the dies for the previous federal, state, and private medals struck at the Mint. Without his effort, they might have been lost or destroyed. In France there was a museum of such French medals. He hoped that one day the same would be established at the U.S. Mint. In the meantime the chief coiner would take custody of them and strike copies when required. It was one final bit of effrontery given that the Mint cabinet had been in existence since 1838.

Peale presented no corroborating testimony from others aside from one letter of support signed by Robert Maskell Patterson. McCulloh would claim that while Patterson might have signed the letter, he certainly did not write it. McCulloh considered Peale shameless in his pursuit of Patterson's statement for the record that the chief coiner had always expressed a favorable opinion of McCulloh's refining process. Indeed, Patterson's health had deteriorated rapidly since resigning his position at the Mint. He suffered from heart disease and had retired from his position with the American Philosophical Society. He would shortly decline to stand for reelection as president of the Musical Fund Society. In fact, he had withdrawn completely from Philadelphia society.

With the evidentiary portion of his investigation over, Eckert had to choose a course of action. It was a full 90 days before he filed his findings with Assistant Treasury secretary Hodge on July 13, 1852. His excuse for the delay was his wish to see the refining trials through to their conclusion. With due formality, Eckert quoted the charges directly from McCulloh's submission. He cited his own activities, taking interviews and receiving Peale's written response. In conclusion, Eckert found that with one exception, Peale's conduct was not amenable to censure or inconsistent with his governmental duties. That exception was Peale's use of workmen to perform repairs to his house and furniture. However, there were extenuating circumstances. Prior to the influx of California gold, there was a great deal of downtime at the Mint. In such circumstances, the use of workmen in performing private services was not an interruption of their duties at the Mint; it was simply the use of time that would otherwise have been idly spent. It was as if Peale had ghostwritten Eckert's reply to Hodge.

Eckert did himself no favors when he continued by asserting that no such work had gone on since the arrival of the California gold. Eckert was also convinced that the time freely given by Peale in preparing drawings for the new machinery necessary to the capacity expansion of 1850 should be taken into consideration. This statement directly contradicted McCulloh's claim that Peale was paid for his drawings. Eckert believed that while, strictly speaking, the chief coiner was in the wrong, no public interest suffered as a consequence. Eckert believed Peale was eminently qualified for the position of chief coiner and he considered the investigation complete.

## ***Part 7: 1853 – Change at the Mint.***

The United States made a sweeping change in monetary policy in the Coinage Act of 1853. The concept of the intrinsic value of U.S. coinage had been challenged, and a long, slow slide

away from this principle commenced. Free silver coinage was gone with the wind. Most importantly, the United States was now on the gold standard. The law did one other thing; it gave the power to strike ingots—at that point confined to the San Francisco Mint—to each of the U.S. Mint facilities. This opened the door for Senator Hamilton Fish to gain what New York needed in its assay office.

The silver dollar was retained as a fig-leaf token to a bimetallic standard that existed in name only. The Mint would continue to exchange these coins for the silver in the California bullion deposits. The depositors would then, in most cases, send them to the bullion dealers and hence back to the melting pot.

The Senate signed off and the president signed it into law with an effective date of June 1, 1852. Clearly there were going to have to be corrections incorporated into the deficiency bill. The necessary changes were made in the House. The Ways and Means Committee, added a section on the implementation of design changes on the subsidiary silver coins. To procure such devices, the director of the Mint was empowered, with the approval of the secretary of the Treasury, to temporarily engage the services of one or more outside artists distinguished in their respective fields. These artists would be paid to provide molds, models, and original dies. Their fees were to be paid from the contingent fund. Also, the three-cent piece was included in the bill; it became .900 fine, at a weight pro rata to the other silver coins. At the last minute, another move was made to make the debased silver coins legal tender for all debts, public and private. This amendment was voted down. The effective date was changed to April 1, 1853.

Without a doubt, the actions of the Thirty-Second Congress were the most far reaching in regard to the Mint since the establishment of that institution in 1792.

Now the pressure was on George Eckert to get the conforming subsidiary silver coins into circulation as fast as possible. The unknown in the equation was how to respond to the congressional mandate for new devices to distinguish these coins from their heavier counterparts. Eckert would have to work with Longacre to find an acceptable way to comply without completely redesigning the affected coinage.

In early February, Longacre had approached Eckert about restructuring his department. The engraver had been called upon to testify in a gold-coin—counterfeit trial.

Seeing the quality of the counterfeit coins, Longacre was determined to renew his efforts to gain control of the production of working dies. It was important that coins emitted from the Mint were error free to better distinguish them from counterfeit pieces. He told Eckert that to accomplish this goal, he would have to reorganize his department, which would involve increases in labor and operating costs. The machinery necessary for making the dies also had to be placed under the engraver's control. By inference, Longacre was criticizing the quality of the working dies prepared by Peale's men.

Eckert formally approached Longacre for suggestions about the new coins on February 23. While it might be necessary to introduce entirely new designs, Eckert was, at the present, not expecting that from Longacre; he was looking for minor changes. Eckert suggested changing the reverses of the quarter and half dollar to make them conform to the reverses of the dime and half dime, which both showed a wreath encircling the appropriate denomination. He thought arrows at the date would suffice for



*Arrow and Rays design, 1853*  
*James B. Longacre*

the obverses of the four coins. If there was not a punch for the arrows, one could easily be purchased.

Longacre agreed that the time was too short for elaborate changes. Temporary help would not contribute meaningfully in the short term. Elimination of the eagle on the reverses of the quarter and half dollar would, at the very least, require approval from Treasury. Longacre agreed with Eckert that arrows flanking the date would be the best option for the obverses. For the quarter and half dollar, he suggested covering the space between the eagle and the inscriptions with rays, termed a gloria. For the half dime and dime, Longacre wanted to add a wreath or garland at the top of the reverses in the form of an oval containing a six-pointed star. However, he was afraid that there was not enough time to properly do the work on the reverses of the two smaller coins. He expected that models and molds would be required to make this change. Neither man addressed the three-cent piece, as it was not yet part of the equation.

On the same day that Longacre replied, Eckert, in a formal communication, somewhat gave in to the engraver's request to gain control of working-die production. Longacre could draw upon the men and machinery necessary. The change would most likely involve a general reorganization of the engraver's office; certain men would have to be under Longacre's control to accomplish the tasks required. Then Eckert revealed the terms attached to this agreement. As exclusive control of the dies would devolve upon Longacre, he would be responsible for supplying the chief coiner with the dies at the time they were needed. This arrangement was guaranteed to bring Longacre and Peale into open conflict.

With Longacre's reverse-design suggestions now in hand, Eckert asked how much time would be required to apply the rays and wreaths. He also wanted to know how long it would take if the rays were only applied to the quarter and half dollar, with the other two coins remaining unchanged. Did Longacre need assistance?

On the following day, March 4, Longacre wrote to Eckert, but not about the designs. Instead, he was pleased with Eckert's position regarding the reorganization of his office. He recognized that using men from Peale's department might be the best solution. However on principle, he objected. He would prefer to hire people with skills more suited to his requirements. He repeated that at all times, the machinery used ought to be under his control.

At this point Longacre wrote to McCulloh concerning the

proposed new designs. In his reply, McCulloh enclosed a clipping from the National Intelligencer that stated that the secretary of the Treasury was empowered to seek outside artists for new coin devices and that the effective date of the act would be April 1. McCulloh believed that it was Bob Patterson who had caused this clause to be inserted.

He was wrong on that account, as Patterson had left Washington well before this clause found its way into the act. The extremely short implementation time was the work of Ways and Means. McCulloh told Longacre to stand by and do nothing. It was the Mint director who must take action in accordance with the law. Also, any communication between Longacre and Eckert should be in writing. McCulloh had let his suspicions color his advice to his old friend.

Meanwhile, Eckert picked up Longacre's letter expecting answers to his pressing question of the time required to make design changes. Instead he found carefully couched words aimed at negotiating the separation of engraving activities from the coining department. In that regard, Eckert curtly told Longacre that he had no remarks to make at that time. The issue of the coin designs had been before Longacre since February 22 and Eckert needed answers. In providing these answers, Longacre should first assume no outside help. Then, for each activity; he should provide the time savings that an assistant would generate.

That communication snapped Longacre back to reality. Eight working days would be required for the master dies and hubs of the quarter, assuming no interruptions. The half dollar would require the same amount of time. In Longacre's view, interruptions for the routine duties of his office were a major factor, as such work cropped up almost daily. An assistant could not be in place in time to work on the master dies, but one could cut the time for the hubs in half.

That was enough for Eckert. Longacre could proceed with both the obverse and reverse changes on the quarter and half dollar. For the half dime and dime, arrows flanking the date would be sufficient. There was so little difference in silver for the smaller denominations that a sharp differentiation was not really necessary. There then remained the three-cent piece. For this coin, Longacre raised the rim of the star on the obverse and added two outlines. On the reverse, he added an olive branch above and a bundle of arrows below the roman numeral III.

Franklin Pierce was inaugurated on March 4, 1853. Eckert knew immediately that he was out. Rather than be booted, he resigned, preserving the fiction that the Mint director's job was not political. As a parting favor, he gained presidential approval for assistants for Booth and Peale. John Taylor would be the assistant Melter and Refiner and George Hall, the assistant coiner. However, the incoming Democrats stopped these promotions cold.

At the other end of the state, in Pittsburgh, James Ross Snowden opened a letter from an old friend, Richard McCulloh. He had written to McCulloh the previous summer, commenting on his plans and aspirations. McCulloh approved of Snowden seeking a legal career in western Pennsylvania. He offered what help he could, but acknowledged he was neither a political potentate nor from the area. When Pierce took office, Snowden had his sights set on the position of U.S. attorney for western Pennsylvania.

That said, McCulloh asked what was to become of the Mint. McCulloh thought that they would both be asked for recommenda-

tions for officers at the Mint. McCulloh believed it would be well if the two of them worked some what in concert.

It was at this point that George Eckert sent Robert M. Patterson's son, Bob to Washington, ostensibly to lobby for the debasement of silver coins. However, it also gave Bob Patterson an opportunity to gain support both within the administration and in the Senate confirmation process that would be crucial.

Snowden was active seeking the U.S. attorney position in Pittsburgh. However, Snowden had a problem with some of his petitioners; more than one thought they were recommending him for the position of director of the Mint.

In fact, Snowden was having a tough time with that one. He wrote to James Buchanan on March 2, asking for a general recommendation. Buchanan had twice come to his aid when he was down and out. After being unceremoniously removed as Pennsylvania state treasurer by the Whigs in 1847, it was Buchanan who had earlier secured for Snowden the position of treasurer at the Mint.

Snowden laid it out for Buchanan. Friends were considering advancing him for the Mint position. In the meantime, he had learned that Eckert would resign in favor of Bob Patterson. However, echoing McCulloh, Snowden noted that there were Democrats in Philadelphia who would like to see an infusion of new blood at the Mint. Still, Snowden had not made up his mind. He was going to go to Washington and decide when he got there.

That trip refocused Snowden on the U.S. attorney position. He now put in play his strongest supporter, his father-in-law. General Robert Patterson was not bashfull. From 1300 Locust Street, just over two blocks from the "other" Robert Patterson, went out pleas for help. To Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, Patterson addressed his letter to "My Dear Colonel." He asked Davis, as an old brother soldier, to use his influence with the president. It was a personal favor and he did not forget favors. He also wrote to Secretary of State William Marcy with the same pitch; he would not be slow to reciprocate this obligation to Marcy. General Patterson did not overlook the president, asking for a personal favor to appoint his son-in-law.

Neither man got their job. The Mint position went to Thomas Pettit. Pettit had been the U.S. attorney for eastern Pennsylvania under Polk. As such, he served on the assay commission at the Mint. In asking Pierce for the position, he said his association with the Mint had allowed him to learn something of its supervision and management. He admitted to having been temporarily impaired, healthwise. It was his foot. However, he was now fine and anxious to be honorably employed. The only recommendation of merit came, ironically, from General Patterson.

Thomas Pettit was completely in over his head. He was an object of pity, limping about the Mint, totally bewildered by all that was going on around him. The new secretary of the Treasury, James Guthrie, pressured Pettit, wanting to know what regulations Pettit proposed for issuing the new silver coins. Bob Patterson resigned. Pettit begged him to stay on. Patterson acquiesced, running the Mint as he had for the past eight years. By mid-May it was obvious to everyone that Pettit was seriously ill; he could not perform the job for long. In fact, he died on May 31 at the age of 51. The process to find a new director started all over again.

Against this backdrop, Buchanan left for Washington, arriving on May 18. The following day he met with Pierce to thrash out Pennsylvania appointments. Buchanan did not get a good

feeling from these and subsequent discussions with the president; the man seemed less than straightforward in their talks. Nevertheless, on May 30, there was agreement on one topic. When Buchanan brought up Bob Patterson's name, Pierce remarked that the place of director of the Mint seemed made for Mr. Patterson and Mr. Patterson made for the place.

The papers were made out appointing Patterson to the position that his father and grandfather had once held. Buchanan left Washington on the evening of May 31, believing the appointment made. On June 1, the fact was announced in the newspapers. The Patterson family rejoiced—but then the roof caved in. The nomination was withdrawn in favor of James Ross Snowden. It seems that behind the scenes General Patterson had taken action to gain the edge for his son-in-law. Why the president had changed his mind, Buchanan did not know. He had never heard Snowden's name mentioned in connection with the office until his appointment was announced.

Bob Patterson was understandably bitter over the whole affair. He resigned on June 20, only to be persuaded by Snowden to reconsider. Snowden promised to approach Washington with the idea of creating an assistant director's post specifically for Patterson.

Bob Patterson stayed at his post until November. While he would return for a stint as a clerk in the treasurer's office, it was the end of the line for the Patterson family at the Mint. As a consolation, Guthrie appointed him to the annual assay commission for 1854.

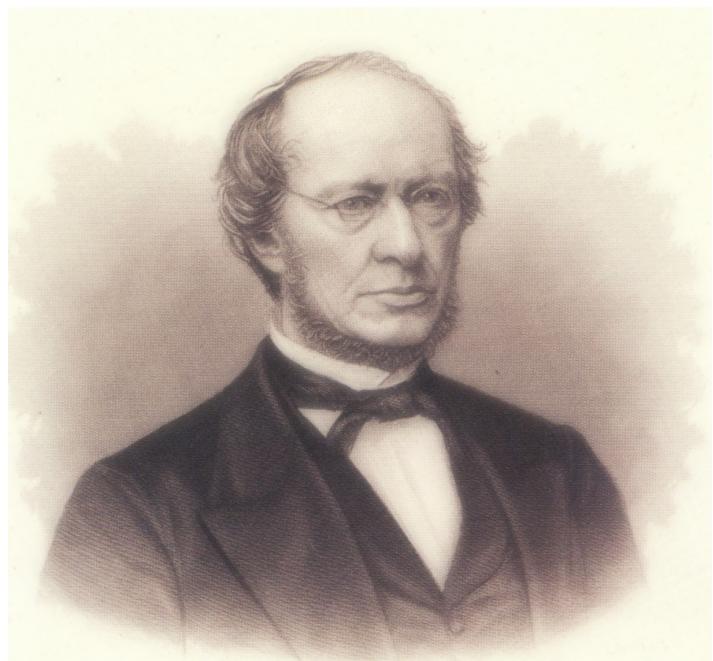
### **Part 8: Peale is fired.**

The issue of striking medals boiled up again in the spring of 1854. The Association for the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, headed by P.T. Barnum, had requested the Mint strike 118 silver medals and 1,150 bronze medals from dies prepared by C.C. Wright. Snowden went directly to the Treasury Department for approval. The approval came back with the stipulation that the Mint be reimbursed for all materials and that no officer should benefit from the arrangement. Snowden, in turn, formally asked Peale if the Mint could strike these medals and to provide a time frame for their completion.

With the continuous press of California gold and the added burden of silver coinage, Peale did not believe he could strike so many medals during normal business hours. The material required was \$500, and it would take three men working overtime for two months to execute this order—for which the men should be compensated. Of course, Peale would willingly give his best service at any and all times without profit, gain, or any other consideration.

On the subject of making medals, Peale was now communicating to Snowden in writing. Peale's answer necessitated another round of letters between Snowden and Guthrie. With the added hours came added labor expense. Snowden pointed out that C.C. Wright now had a press that could strike these medals for the association if Guthrie wanted to pass on the business. Guthrie was willing to move forward as long as the costs were covered. Medals were going to be a volatile subject at the Mint.

An investigation regarding a theft at the mint of over \$250,000 in gold, including \$10,000 in \$50 gold slugs brought



**James R. Snowden**  
**Director of the Mint 1853 - 1860**

increased scrutiny on Mint practices. Change in procedures and the workforce came to the Mint as a result. The men on hourly wages were to be paid only for the time that they were reasonably engaged. Snowden had originally been unwilling to lay off the women in the adjusting room. Now he had to, telling Peale to reduce his force there to 28. In addition, Snowden ordered 15 men terminated from the coining department, providing specific names. The workforce was about to take on a decidedly Democratic flavor.

In a shot across the bow for all the officers, Snowden stated emphatically that the number of workmen employed would be regulated by the amount of work to be performed. The focus of the Mint in the future would be balanced between the need for economy and the requirements of public service. A second general regulation stated clearly that beyond salary, no officer could profit from the operations of the Mint.

The record is completely blank concerning Franklin Peale's termination. To this day there remain rumors that the medal dies that Peale had so diligently collected through the years were removed from the Mint. That action would have benefited no one but Peale. Upon being discovered, the dies were recovered by Peale and returned. The story has a ring of truth to it. Peale's outside income had been eliminated, and a side market for collectors of medal restrikes would have been lucrative. This is pure conjecture. However, there can be no doubt that Snowden's regulations put a straitjacket on Franklin Peale's activities, which he would have found suffocating. Some time that fall, Snowden preferred charges. Guthrie appropriately passed them on to President Pierce. As an officer appointed by the president, only the president was able to remove Peale.

On September 5, 1854, Robert Maskell Paterson quietly passed away in his home on Locust Street. He was 67 years old. It was the end of an era at the Philadelphia Mint.

On April 22, 1856, Peale petitioned Congress for \$30,000 in compensation for extra services performed at the Mint. The Senate bought Peale's claims, although they reduced the amount to \$10,000. At this point James Guthrie succeeded in stopping this memorial in the House, with the help of a damning report by Snowden.

Snowden's report was enough. The move to legislate \$10,000 to Franklin Peale was stopped dead. When Peale pushed again in 1858, he failed once more. It was not until Franklin Peale died on May 5, 1870, that feelings began to soften. With a different administration in power at the Philadelphia Mint composed of men who had been clerks in Peale's time, Congress gave Peale's daughter, Anna, the \$10,000 in an act for her relief in 1873. Perhaps in return, Peale's widow, Caroline, gave the Mint a fine bust of her late husband. Bob Patterson conveyed it to the Mint. However, its stay was brief as the family gave it to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1876.

### **Part 9: \$3.00 Gold Coin.**

On July 26, 1853, Snowden issued a circular letter inviting the "cooperation" of artists, engravers and persons of taste to submit such designs as they deemed appropriate for a redesign of the silver coinage. Longacre did not participate. It was a total failure. As a result, Longacre's job was safe. In addition, Snowden gave Longacre what he most wanted: control of all the dies made at The Mint. The men from the coining department used in producing these dies would be working under Snowden's orders. It was a compromise very much in Longacre's favor.

Longacre now picked up the assignment for the \$3 gold piece, authorized in the comprehensive legislation passed earlier in the year. Since using a standard planchet thickness produced a coin very similar in size to the quarter eagle, a decision had to be made. To prevent as much confusion on the public's part as possible, there was no choice but to go with a thinner planchet, producing a coin midway in diameter between the quarter eagle and the half eagle. Little was documented about this design work. Sketches were sent to Guthrie for approval in October 1853. After that, the record went blank until May 1, 1854, when the new coins were issued. The obverse exhibited an "ideal head" with a feathered headdress bearing the inscription "Liberty" on the band. Encircling the head was the inscription "United States of America." On the reverse was a wreath composed of the staple produce of the country—wheat, cotton, Indian corn, and tobacco. In the center were the denomination and the date.

Longacre would always consider this design his very best. In justifying the use of the headdress, Longacre stated that the feathered tiara was as characteristic of the primitive races of this hemisphere as the turban was of the Asiatic. There was nothing repulsive in its character, as opposed to the Phrygian cap, which was the emblem of a freed slave. Longacre regarded the headdress as a proper, well-defined part of the national inheritance. It was a memorial to American liberty. Why not use it?

The \$3 gold piece solved the problem of the size of the gold dollar coin. Longacre had experimented with annular versions prior to Snowden's arrival as Mint director. At issue were the



**\$3.00 Gold coin, 1854**

**James B. Longacre**

production problems associated with punching out the annular portion. Now, with the reduced thickness of the \$3 gold piece a success, Longacre applied this same principle to the \$1 coin, expanding its diameter by one-tenth of an inch. He slightly modified the head from the obverse of the \$3 coin, copied the reverse, and produced the new issue. He would change the obverse in 1856 to enlarge the head of Liberty and bring the image exactly in line with the \$3 gold piece.

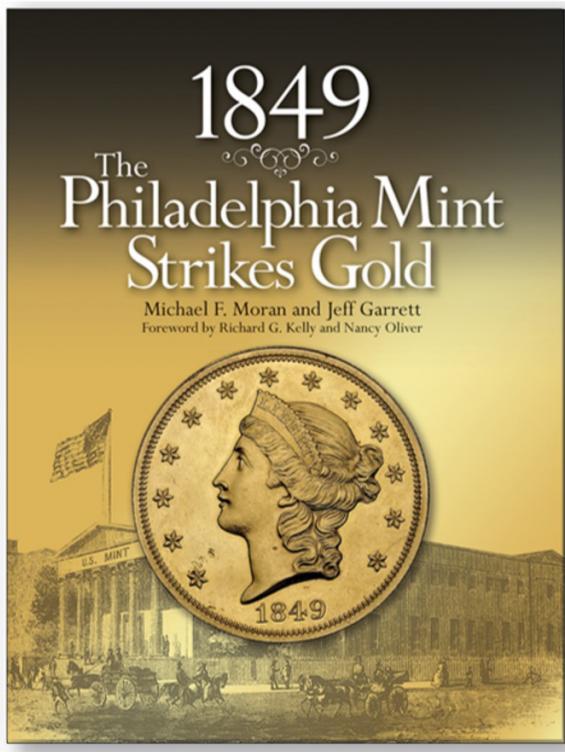
With the issue of the coinage designs resolved in Longacre's favor, he undertook a medal project, which showed just how obtuse the engraver could be to the politics of the Mint. With chief coiner Franklin Peale barely gone from office, Longacre negotiated a contract on April 14, 1855, with the Navy Department for \$2,200 to execute a medal awarded to Commander Duncan Ingraham. With the help of Peter Cross, Longacre executed the dies, with one gold and ten bronze medals struck at the Mint in December.

The engraver took this business in spite of the fact that Snowden had formally opened a medals department on April 1, 1855. Snowden had sought permission the prior year and set forth his case in his January 30, 1855, annual report to the president. The work would be consistent with the operations of the Mint, with no additional remuneration paid to either officers or employees of the Mint. It had even come before the House of Representatives for inquiry. Permission was granted on March 7, 1855, before Longacre had accepted the Ingraham commission.

The Treasury Department got wind of the transaction and requested justification from Longacre for his actions. Considering Peale still had friends at the Mint, the source of the leak, while never disclosed, was obvious. The engraver argued that the work was done outside of his Mint duties and in the "recess" of his official work. Artfully worded arguments were not going to work, given the uproar over Peale's activities. Longacre had to repay the government, with interest, from his salary.

Longacre would continue at the Mint until his death on January 1, 1869. He would go on to create the designs for many new coins over that period, including the Flying Eagle cent (1856), Indian Head cent (1859), Shield reverse on the cent (1860), Two cent (1864), Three cent nickel (1865), Five cent nickel (1866), "In God We Trust" artfully added to the reverse of silver coinage (1866), as well as many pattern designs.

The story of Snowden and his control of the use of dies would bring scandal to the Mint in the coming years. The restriking of rare coins for the Mint's profit would give us many numismatic delicacies not previously known. But that story will have to wait for another time.



***1849: The Mint Strikes Gold***  
By Michael Moran and Jeff Garrett

This article was condensed from this new book from Whitman Publishing. The book won “Best Specialised Book from the Numismatic Literary Guild, 2016.

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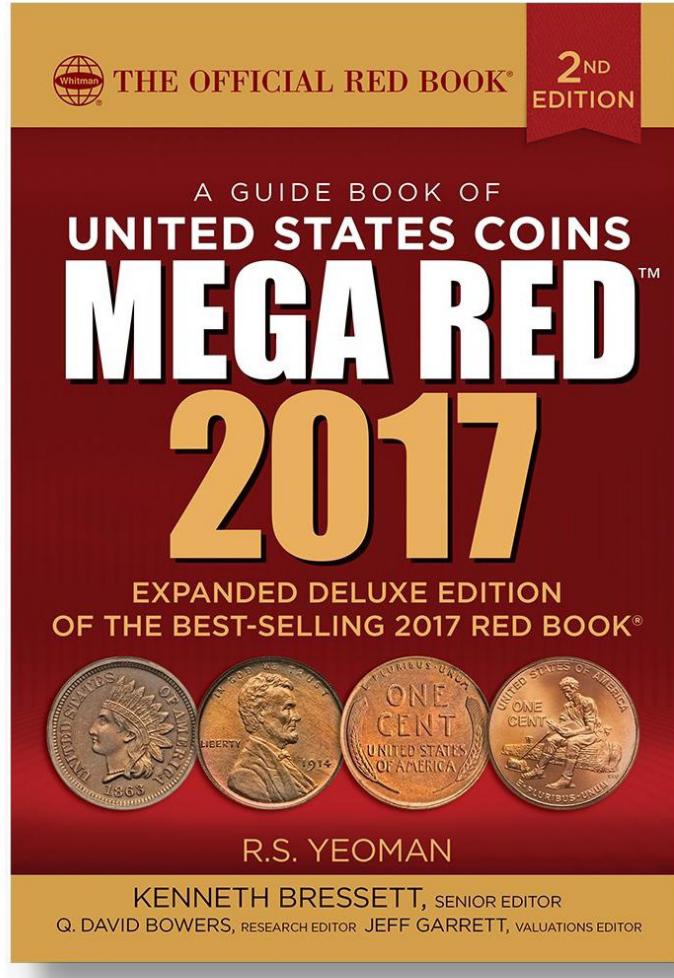
*Counterstamp on a 1856 Flying Eagle Cent*  
By PCGS CoinFacts

Here is a very interesting counterstamp - “DP” is stamped above the date of a 1856 Flying eagle cent. The host coin is Snow-3 die pair. These are the origianl examples that were struck in a simulated press run in late 1856. They were distributed to Congress to pass what would become the Coinage Act of 1857.

If you have any information on who “DP” might be, please forward the information to the editor.



*New 2017 Mega Red”  
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*Something New*  
By Richard Snow, Club Attributor

1891

★★



S24 1891, 1st 1/1 (w), 2nd 1/1 (s).

**S24 1891, 1st 1/1 (w), 2nd 1/1 (s).**

*Obv. 27: (LE) Evidence of repunching on the first 1 on the high points of the digits. A faint repunching visible under the flag of the second 1.*

*Rev. AB: Shield points and olive leaf connected to the denticles.*

Attributed to: David Killough

The apparent repunching on the first digit shows a tilted impression replaced by a corrected digit impression. This is only on the high points of the digit. {45}

1892

★



S15 1892, 1892 in denticles.

**S15 1892, 1892 in denticles.**

*Obv. 17: (RH) The top of a 1 digit is visible in the denticles between the 1 and 8 in the date. The tops of two additional digits are visible in the denticles below the 89. Another digit is visible in the denticles between the 9 and 2.*

*Rev. Q: Shield points just connected to the denticles. Olive leaf away.*

Attributed to: Mark Emtman

The digit between the 9 and 2 is the boldest of the three digits. {58}

★



S15 1892, 8 in denticles.

**S16 1892, 8 in denticles.**

*Obv. 18: (C) The top of an 8 digit is visible in the denticles between the 8 and 9.*

*Rev. R: Shield points and olive leaf just connected to the denticles.*

Attributed to: Ed Nathanson

The date is very high. The metal movement from the punching of the date deforms the bust point slightly. {58}

# 1896

★★



S25 1896, 6/6 (e).

## S25 1896, 6/6 (e).

*Obv. 29: (B) Bold repunching inside the upper and lower loops of the 6.*

*Rev. Z: Shield points connected to the denticles. Olive leaf away.*

Attributed to: Ed Nathanson

Very similar to S11 and S22. Compare date positions. {40}

★★



S26 1896, 6/6 (sw).

## S26 1896, 6/6 (sw).

*Obv. 30: (RE) Repunching visible in the upper loop of the 6. Repunching also visible in the lower loop, but not as sharp.*

*Rev. AA: Shield points and olive leaf firmly connected to the denticles.*

Attributed to: David Killough

The repunching in the upper loop is much more pronounced than in the lower loop. {40, 30}

# 1898

★★



S42 1898, 89/89 (e).

## S42 1898, 89/89 (e).

*Obv. 45: (C) Rough repunching visible in the lower loops of the 89.*

*Rev. AU: Shield points and olive leaf connected to the denticles.*

Attributed to: Ed Nathanson

The repunching is rough and irregular. {63BN}

# 1897

★★



S26 1897, 1/1 (n).

**S26 1897, 1/1 (n).**

*Obv. 27: (RE) Minor repunching visible above the flag of the 1.  
Rev. AB: Shield points just away from the denticles. Olive leaf connected.*

Attributed to: David Killough

Similar to S9. Compare date positions. {40}

★★



S27 1897, 1897/1897 (s).

**S27 1897, 1897/1897 (s).**

*Obv. 28: (C) Minor repunching visible below all the digits.  
Rev. AC: Shield points and olive leaf connected to the denticles.*

Attributed to: David Killough

Very slight repunching but visible. {15}

★



1897

**S28 1897, 9/9 (s).**

*Obv. 29: (RE) Minor repunching below the central bar of the 9.  
Rev. AD: Shield points connected to the denticles. Olive leaf just away from denticles.*

Attributed to: David Killough

Very wide repunching. It appears that the top of the initial 9 digit is under the center of the final digit. {50}

# 1899

## S37 1899, 899/899 (e).

*Obv. 39: (LH) Moderate repunching on the base of the 8 and first 9. Stronger repunching on the last 9.  
Rev. AO: Olive leaf and left shield point away from the denticles. Right shield point just connected.*

*Attributed to: David Killough*

The repunching on the 8 is similar to S33, but with additional repunching inside the lower loops of both 9's.  
{20}



★★

S37 1899, 899/899 (e).

# 1900

## S32 1900, 90/90 (s).

*Obv. 36: (C) Minor repunching in the tops of the 90. Die chip on the 9.  
Rev. AJ: Olive leaf and right shield point connected to the denticles.  
Right shield point away from the denticles.*

*Attributed to: David Killough*

Date high. Easily identified by the raised area on the 9. This might be debris punched into the die when the date was punched. {50}



★★

S32 1900, 90/90 (s).

# 1904

## S20 1904, 04 in denticles.

*Obv. 21: (LE) The tops of the 0 and 4 digits are visible at the top of the denticles just to the left of the digits in the date.  
Rev. T: Olive leaf and shield points well away from the denticles.*

*Attributed to: David Killough*

Minor misplaced digit variety. {58}



★

S20 1904, 04 in denticles.

# 1908

★★



**S18 1908, 1/1 (s), 08/08 (s).**

*Obv. 20: (RH) Strong repunching visible inside the 0 and lower loop of the 8.*

*Rev. T: Shield points just connected to the denticles. Olive leaf away.*

*Attributed to: Harlan Berk*

The variety previously listed as S18 was found to be a duplicate of S6. {63BN}

*S18 1908, 1/1 (s), 08/08 (s).*



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